CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA AGRICOLAE


BRITANNIA
Miles
Kilometres
Legionary Fortresses
Forts
Forts certainly or probably established before A.D. 110
Large Towns
Small Towns (and modern names)
Forfar
Perth
Tava Aest
CALEDONIA
Bodotria Aest
Camelon
Inveresk
Clyde
Castledykes
Tweed
Trimontium
(Newstead)
Cappuck
Clota Aest
Birrens
Hadrian's Wall
Tyne
Corstopitum
Luguvallium
(Carlisle)
Ituna Aest
Uxellodunum
(Maryport)
Brocavum
Monapia
Lancaster
Eburacum
(York)
Ilkley
Cambodunum
Castleshaw
Wigan
Manchester
Abus Aest
Mona
Canovium (Caerhun)
Segontium
(Carnarvon)
DECEANGI
Deva
(Chester)
Dee
Lindum (Lincoln)
Metaris Aest
Derby
CORITANI
Viroconium
Ratae
(Leicester)
Durobrivae
Peterborough
Venta Icenorum
ICENI
Caersws
ORDOVICES
Huntingdon
Cambridge
Castell Collen
Gaer
Maridunum
Coelbren
Gellygaer
Penydarren
Glevum
SILURES
DOBUNI
Lexden
Camulodunum
Verulamium
(St Albans)
TRINOVANTES
Isca
(Caerleon)
Venta
Corinium
Dorchester
Londinium
Tamesa Aest
Cardiff
Aquae Sulis
Staines
Durovernum
Rutupiae
Sabrina Aest
Calleva
CANTII
Dubrae
BELGAE
Portus Lemanis
Venta Belgarum
Anderida
DUMNONII
Gessoriacum
(Boulogne)
Durnovaria
Vectis
(I of Wight)
Isca Dumnoniorum
(Exeter)
Moridunum
(Seaton)

CORNELII TACITI
DE VITA AGRICOLAE

EDITED BY

H. FURNEAUX

SECOND EDITION

REVISED AND LARGELY REWRITTEN

BY

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PREFACE

The first edition of this commentary was published in 1898. Since then much has happened. The discovery of two new MSS., one of which is the archetype of all the rest, made a new text necessary. While these MSS. have helped less than might have been hoped, they have yielded a good many improved readings, some of which confirm generally accepted emendations, made by scholars since the fifteenth century. More notable is the advance that has been achieved in the historical interpretation of the narrative, an advance due chiefly to the progress of archaeological inquiry. When Furneaux wrote, the use of the spade had hardly begun. The intervening years have let in a flood of light. But the results of investigation are mostly scattered in a number of antiquarian periodicals, many of them not generally accessible, and they require sifting and co-ordinating. For what has been done to gather together the threads and to weave them into a proportioned whole, we are indebted to one or two scholars, and above all to the late Prof. Haverfield. As was natural in an Englishman, he had a special interest in Agricola, and towards the end of his life he undertook to re-edit his biography. When he died in October 1919 he was actually engaged in the task, but it was still far from being accomplished. Towards a revision of the text and of the commentary his papers afforded little assistance beyond a few notes, which are mostly acknowledged in their place. The tangible result of his work was a series of articles intended to replace Furneaux's introductory sections. Few of them, however, were in a finished state. Such as were tolerably complete, and did not require so much editing as to cease to represent substantially what he had written, are distinguished by his initials. They comprise Section I and

Appendixes II and III (which were the most complete), Sections V and VI (i), and Section VII (where some re-writing was necessary in the first part). His papers have also been utilized for the first five paragraphs of Section IV and the quotation on p. xxxvi, the summary description of the East and West coast routes on p. xlix f., and the accounts of the two isthmuses and of the Agricolan forts along the northern one (pp. lx–lxvii). His notes on the last subject formed the basis of an article entitled 'Agricola and the Antonine Wall', which he published in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, iv (1917–18), pp. 174–81. All the introductory articles save one, as well as the three Appendixes, appear now for the first time. Section VIII (Language and Style) is repeated, with alterations and additions, from the first edition.

In preparing the introduction and in revising the text and commentary, I have endeavoured to take account of the work which has been done since 1898, and I trust that nothing of importance has been overlooked. The critical apparatus is complete enough to satisfy all reasonable requirements. The readings of the better of the two inferior MSS. (*A*) are recorded with approximate completeness. Of the variations of the other (*B*) I have given only a certain number, which have some interest as illustrations of the vagaries of a copyist. In two passages the correct text has now, I think, been established (c. 30 *coistis*, c. 44 *Priscino*), in another (c. 36, 3) the correctness of an old restoration has, I hope, been shown. In some places (c. 28, 3; 33, 4; 45, 1) I have ventured to print new readings—of which the first and the third are makeshifts, like all previous attempts—and to vary an old emendation (c. 42, 5). Two passages continue to resist correction (c. 24, 1 *nave prima*; c. 28, 2 *remigante*). In the matter of orthography I have not followed the Iesi MS. in detail: its inconsistencies show that it cannot be regarded as representing the spelling used by Tacitus.

The commentary has been thoroughly overhauled. In its original form it owed a great deal to the edition of Andresen (1880). The debt remains, and, indeed, is increased by the use that has been made of the later work of that veteran scholar. Some unimportant notes have been cut out; references to parallel passages (often less necessary now than they were in 1898) have been considerably reduced; the shorter notes have been largely re-worded or altered, or both; most or all of the more important notes have been re-written; and new notes have been added. The changes are thus great, but the total bulk of the volume is hardly smaller. In apology one must plead the desire to furnish students of what Furneaux called 'a unique specimen of ancient literature and one of exceptional interest to English readers' with an edition which should not only discuss critically the numerous difficulties of text and interpretation, but also provide a bird's-eye view of the results of historical and archaeological inquiry. The introductions and appendixes deal rather fully with a wide range of subjects, and if the last two appendixes travel somewhat outside the ordinary scope of a historical edition, they will be welcomed for their intrinsic value. My thanks are due to the representatives of the Clarendon Press for the breadth of view which they have shown in this respect and for the liberal compensation which they have allowed, in the shape of maps and illustrations, for their inability to print the commentary below the text.

I have also gratefully to acknowledge the aid I have received from several scholars. Prof. A. C. Clark gave me the benefit of his criticism on some points of palaeography and scholarship. Mr. F. W. Hall rendered constant service of a similar kind and read the proofs of the text and commentary. Prof. H. Dessau of Berlin kindly gave me his opinion on various points. Mr. R. G. Collingwood allowed me to draw upon his intimate knowledge of the archaeology of northern England. Prof. W. J. Watson of Edinburgh supplied me with some notes relating

to early Irish history. Above all, to Dr. George Macdonald I owe a special debt of gratitude for putting his counsel and help at my service in all stages of the work and for finding time, in a crowded life, to read the volume from cover to cover.

I must add an acknowledgement of my indebtedness to the care of the proof reader at the Clarendon Press.

J. G. C. A.

OXFORD.
October, 1922.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I

THE MSS. OF THE *AGRICOLA*

When the first edition of this commentary was being prepared by Furneaux about twenty-five years ago, only two MSS. of the *Agricola* were known, both written late in the fifteenth century, just as printing was coming into use.

(i) *A*.—Vatican lat. 3429; called by Wex Γ[1]. This paper MS. is a late fifteenth-century transcript of the *Agricola*, made for his own use by a distinguished humanist, Julius Pomponius Laetus (1425–97), as we learn from a note written in it by a rather later scholar, Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600).[2] Laetus had the transcript bound up with a copy of the *editio princeps* of the works of Tacitus (that of Vendelin de Spira, Venice, 1470). In that edition the *Agricola* is wanting; the compilers were apparently unaware of its existence, though a MS. of it had reached Rome in 1455 (below, p. xv). Laetus, having procured a text of it—from what source seems unknown—made a transcript of it himself, as Boccaccio had done of the *Annals*, and as humanists often did, and bound this into his printed copy to complete the latter. This transcript, now in the Vatican library along with the printed book, is our *A*. According to Urlichs[3], it was written between 1464 and 1471; it must rather, it would seem, have been written between 1470 (when the *editio princeps* came out) and the

[1] Furneaux used Γ and Δ, like Wex, to denote the MSS. *A* and *B*, on the ground that he needed *A* and *B* for MSS. of the *Germania* and of the *Dialogus*. But all other editors use *A* and *B* for the *Agricola* MSS., and confusion is avoided by accepting the general practice of editors.

[2] 'Cornelio Tacito della Vita d' Agricola, scritto di mano di Pomponio Laeto, ligato dietro al Tacito stampato. Ful. Urs.'

[3] *Cornelii Taciti de vita et moribus Agricolae liber. Ad codices Vaticanos rec. C. L. Urlichs.* (Wirceburgi, 1875). He gives no reason for his date.

death of Laetus in 1497. It is the work of a scholar, carefully written. Besides the text, it has marginal and interlinear notes also written by Laetus (see below). A minute collation of *A*, in the form of a complete transcript, was issued by Urlichs in 1875, with a collation of *B*.[1]

(ii) *B*.—Vatican lat. 4498, called by Wex Δ, a parchment MS. of the same general date as *A*, the latter part of the fifteenth century. It contains short treatises by various authors:

1. fo. 1–20. Frontinus, *de aquaeductibus*;
2. fo. 20–35. Rufus, *de provinciis*[2], probably the *Breviarium* of the compiler Rufius Festus.
3. fo. 36–45. Some of Suetonius.
4. fo. 45–63. Cai Plinii Secundi *de viris illustribus*[2]; a treatise usually assigned to Aurelius Victor (Teuffel, 414. 4).
5. fo. 63–77. The *Agricola*;
6. fo. 78–97. The *Dialogus*;
7. fo. 97–109. The *Germania* of Tacitus.
8. fo. 109–12. A few pieces concerned with land surveying, &c.
9. fo. 112–45. Portions of Seneca and of Censorinus.

This MS. is less carefully written than *A*; it is marred by omissions and by errors of carelessness and ignorance. Wex, writing in 1852, when only *A* and *B* were known, not unreasonably observed: 'in Pomponii codice (*A*) una salus est libro nostro' (p. 7). The orthography, however, seems to be more Tacitean in *B* than in *A*; Laetus perhaps altered the spelling of *A* to suit his own ideas (Wex, p. 11). Urlichs printed a collation of *B* in 1875, along with his transcript of *A*.[1]

A and *B* are derived from a common ancestor, generally thought to be not much earlier in date than themselves. Hence, it seems, came also the marginal notes in *A*, which are absent from *B*. Wex took these notes to show that Laetus used some second MS., or other authority distinct from the source from which he got his transcript. But his view has found little approval, and certain details in the since discovered

[1] See p. ix. n. 3. A fresh collation of both MSS., made in 1898 by G. Andresen, yielded a good many minor improvements (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.* 1900, 1299 ff.).

[2] The prefetto of the Vatican Library (now His Holiness the Pope) very kindly sent, at the suggestion of the late Rev. Dr. Bannister, the 'incipits' and 'explicits' of 2 and 4. The 'incipit' of 2 does not agree with that of the *Breviarium*, but the 'explicit' agrees—not absolutely, but quite adequately. The 'incipit' and 'explicit' of 4 agree with those of the treatise of Aurelius Victor.

Toledo MS. (*T* below, no. v), indicate that *A*'s *marginalia* go back to a common archetype of *A*, *B*, and *T*. Three notes, however, to which the word 'puto' is added, seem to be conjectures, due to Laetus himself—not, indeed, conjectures of value.[1] These *marginalia* were printed by Dronke (Coblenz, 1824), and are included by Urlichs.

Indirect evidences suggest that, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italian scholars perhaps knew two other MSS. of the *Agricola*.

(iii) *P* (*Put.*, *P*, or π).—The earliest printed version of the *Agricola*, that of Franciscus Puteolanus (Fr. dal Pozzo) was issued in several slightly varying forms between about 1480 and 1497. These contain readings[2], some of which may be conjectures by Puteolanus, while others may have been taken from some MS. Wex (p. 6) thought that Puteolanus used *A*; the evidence, however, is hardly decisive. The readings of Puteolanus often show affinity with *A* and *B*; their precise origin is best left doubtful.[3]

(iv) More intricate is the problem of the 'vetus codex' of Ursinus, Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600). This scholar issued in 1595 a miscellaneous volume of critical notes on Latin historians.[4] In it (pp. 460–2) he deals with the *Agricola*, quoting conjectures of his own and of the Parisian scholar and Hellenist, P. Danesius (1497–1577), and also readings from a 'vetus codex' ('v. c.'). Unfortunately he has, not without reason, been suspected[5] of having occasionally invented such 'ancient MSS.' in order to dignify his own writings. He may have done that here. It certainly arouses suspicion that he cites a 'vetus codex' not only for the *Agricola*, but for every work which he handles; sometimes he alleges several 'vv. cc.' 'Ubicumque haeserat, praesto erant codices', is Madvig's

[1] 28, 3 *ut sua* for *sua*; 34, 2 *quodque* for *quoque*; 34, 3 *tamdiu non* for *tandem*. See Leuze, p. 522, and Schenkl, cited below, p. xii, nn. 1, 3.

[2] They differ from our known MSS., on the whole, for the worse; to them we owe the spellings *mons Grampius* (ch. 29) and *Horesti* (ch. 38).

[3] See also Schenkl (p. xii, n. 1), and Leuze, p. 540 (p. xii. n. 3).

[4] *Fragmenta Historicorum collecta ab Antonio Augustino emendata a Fulvio Ursino. Fulvi Ursini notae ad Sallustium, Caesarem, Livium, Velleium, Tacitum, Suetonium, Spartianum et alios* (Antwerp, 1595). The 'Notae' (pp. 55–518) have no connexion with the brief 'Fragmenta', which precede them (pp. 1–54).

[5] By Orelli, *pro Plancio*, ed. 1825, p. 144; by Madvig, *de Finibus*, ed. 2, 1869, *praef.* p. xli; and by others (see Wex, p. 12). Wex tried to defend Ursinus.

sardonic comment. Karl Schenkl thought that for the *Agricola* he used *A*, not following it very faithfully. With *A* he was certainly acquainted; his handwriting is in it (see above); but in the present writer's judgement the evidence that *A* was his 'vetus codex' is not decisive. And, as it must at the end remain dubious, in respect to any special passage, whether Ursinus is quoting a real MS. or printing his own conjecture, the decision may be less important than one would wish.[1] If, however, he was citing, not *A*, but some other MS., this would seem to belong to a branch of the MSS. of the *Agricola* distinct from *A*, *B*, and *T*.

(v) *T*.—Toledo Chapter Library, 49. 2. About 1896 it became known that the Chapter library at Toledo in Spain contained a MS. of the *Agricola*.[2] This, first seen by Dr. R. Wünsch, was presently collated by Dr. O. Leuze, of Tübingen.[3] It is a paper MS. of 223 pages, and contains:

1. Fo. 1–15. *Germania*, ending with the subscription 'Fulginie scriptum gerente me magistratum pu(blicum) scribae, kal. Iun. 1474.'[4]
2. Fo. 16–36. *Agricola*, with only the word 'FINIS' subscribed at the end; this section is in the same hand as the *Germania*.
3. Fo. 37–63. Antonii Campani *oratio de laudibus scientiarum*; ending with a subscription 'scripta per me M. Angelum Crullum Tudertem, Fulginii pu(blicum) scribam, Non. Decembr. mcccclxxiiii'.[4]
4. Fo. 64–66. Part of an unidentified oration.

[1] For Schenkl's views see *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, xii (1861), pp. 421–37, esp. pp. 434–7.

[2] See R. Wünsch, *Hermes*, 32, 1897, p. 59, note; *Classical Review*, 1898, p. 308; 1899, p. 274.

[3] *Philologus*, Suppl. Bd. 8, 1889–1901, pp. 515–56. The MS. has since been examined, though not with special reference to the *Agricola*, by Prof. F. F. Abbott, who attests the general accuracy of Leuze's collation (*Chicago University Decennial Publications*, vi, 1904, p. 217). But Leuze's collation, however useful, is not a full collation such as Urlichs has given for *A*; it omits several things which one would like to know about *T*. That is not Leuze's fault; as appears from his account, the custodians of the MS. at first put obstacles in the way of its examination, and he had not time for a systematic scrutiny.

[4] So (1474), according to F. F. Abbott, p. 218, not 1471, which Wünsch had read. The *Agricola* seems then to have been written between June and December 1474, and the copy in *T* is of much the same age as those in *A* and *B*.

5. Fo. 66–221. Pliny, *Letters*, most of Books 1–7 (from 1. 3, 2 to the end of Book 7), and all of Book 9; with a subscription 'Plinii . . . epistolarum liber octavus et ultimus explicit foeliciter; deo grãs. Finis, Perusie in domo Crispolitorum 1468, AMHN Τέλωσ M. Angelus Tuders'.

The value of *T* (Toletanus) has been rated differently by different scholars. Some declare that it adds little to *A* and *B*; others put it far ahead of them. It is of much the same date as they are, being possibly a few years earlier, and is clearly akin to them; all three MSS. are derived from a common archetype (see below, p. xvii). But *T* brought to light various new and good readings, some of which (not all) might be due to humanist conjectures; several, indeed, had been anticipated by humanist conjectures. Among attractive readings of *T* (as compared with *A*, *B*) may be noted:

3, 3 *servitutis* (*senectutis*, *AB*); 9, 7 *eligit* (*elegit*, *AB*); 10, 4 *enorme* (*inorme*, *AB*); 13, 5 *domitae gentes* (*domitiae*, *AB*); 14, 1 *Plautius* (*Plantius*, *AB*); 15, 5 *faelicibus* (added after *impetus*); 16, 1 *ingeniis* (added after *barbaris*)[1]; 18, 5 *subbitis* (for *dubiis*, *AB*) in the phrase *in dubiis consiliis*; 18, 5 *patrius nandi usus*; 19, 2 *per libertos* (for *liberos*); 19, 4 *aequalitate munerum*; 19, 4 *luere pretio*; 25, 1 *timebantur*; 25, 3 *magno paratu*; 25, 3 *et cedendum*; 26. 3 *nonanis* (for *romanis*); 27, 3 *se victos* (added after *virtute*); 30, 3 *nec ulla*; 30, 4 *fluctus ac saxa*; 30, 4 *effugias* (for *effugeris*); 31, 1 *effugerunt* (for *effugiant*); 33, 1 *fremitu cantuque*; 33, 5 *evasisse silvas*.

Most of these twenty-three readings are clear improvements on the previously received text, and some critics would, no doubt, lengthen the list; thus Leuze cited forty noteworthy readings. The value of *T* was, however, settled beyond question by the discovery five years later of another and older (tenth-century) MS., *E* (below, no. vi), of which *T* is a direct copy. *E* was at one time in the hands of an officer of the town of Perugia, and as the scribe of *T*, M. Angelus Crullus, was a municipal official at Foligno,[2] barely twenty-five miles away, he might easily have known of and had access to it; indeed, the final subscription to *T* quoted above shows that he was at Perugia about the time when *T* was finished. The new readings in *T*

[1] See, however, note *ad loc.*

[2] A certain Michael Angelus Grillus, 'buon letterato', is known to have been 'segretario del commune di Foligno' about this time (Leuze, p. 556).

are found in *E* with one exception (*domitae*, 13. 5), and are older than the fifteenth century humanists; they are MS. tradition, not conjectures.

At the same time, it is possible that Crullus introduced into *T* a few conjectures of his own: this hypothesis would explain certain differences between *T* and *E*. Thus, in ch. 43, 2, where *T* has *intercepti*, while *EAB* have *interceptum*, Leuze suggests that the genitive may be an emendation by Crullus on the analogy of *famam aucti exercitus* (*Ann.* 15. 10. 1), &c.[1] However, Crullus does not seem to have introduced many such conjectures.

(vi) *E*.—MS. Latino 8, in the private library of Count Balleani at Iesi, not far from Ancona; first recognized in Sept. 1902. From the old name of Iesi (Aesis), it has been named *codex Aesinus* (*E*), though the correct form is *Aesinas*.

This, the last discovered and the oldest of the known MSS. of the *Agricola*, is a tenth-century parchment MS., with a curious history. In the earlier fifteenth century Italian scholars, notably Poggio (*c.* 1380–1459), were busy searching for classical MSS. in libraries both in Italy and north of the Alps. How much thus became known to Italians about northern libraries is clear from a 'commentarium' which the Florentine humanist Niccolo de' Niccoli (1363–1437), one of the circle of Cosimo de' Medici, drew up with the aid of Poggio in July 1431; it summarizes certain MSS. of works then unknown in Italy, and names five monasteries, four German and one Dacian (i.e. Danish), in which Niccolo had learnt that copies existed of Tacitus' 'lesser works', of Suetonius, Frontinus, Cicero, Celsus, &c. This list was drawn up in connexion with a visit about to be paid to Germany by Cardinal Cesarini, under the authority of Pope Martin V, to organize attacks on the Hussites. It was hoped that, as an ecclesiastical dignitary, the Cardinal might get access to monastic libraries and to their treasures, as noted in the memorandum. Actually, the visit yielded no literary fruit.[2]

[1] Leuze, p. 533. So in 13. 2. *EAB* read *auctoritate operis* while *T* has *auctor operis*; the latter might be due to Crullus (see note on the passage). Compare especially 13. 5 *domitae gentes E*, *Domitiae gentis AB*; *domite gentes* (the *i* being expunged by a dot underneath) *T*; the latter is clearly right.

[2] For the 'commentarium' see R. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* (Catania, 1914), pp. 2–7; it is also printed by Gudeman, *Dial.* ed. 2, p. 135, from the *Wochenschrift für kl. Philologie* 1913, col. 701 f.

In the course of such activity, word came that a MS. of the *Agricola* (a treatise still unknown to Italian scholars) existed in the German monastery of Hersfeld, not far from Fulda (in Hessen). The discovery was communicated to Poggio about 1425 by a Hersfeld monk, who visited Italy; but possibly the MS. had been found a few years earlier by Bartolomeo Capra, archbishop of Milan, who was in Germany about 1418–20, and who claimed to have found there MSS. of Roman historical authors.[1] Poggio tried to get the *Agricola* MS. by exchange or otherwise, but in vain; at last in 1451 Nicholas V (Pope 1447–55) sent his friend, Enoch of Ascoli[2], to seek MSS. in northern Europe. Enoch, who had lately been in Constantinople, and was clearly not afraid of travelling, visited libraries in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, &c. In the spring of 1455 he brought back to Rome several MSS., including the actual Hersfeld MS. of the *Agricola*,[3] which contained also other matter. How he obtained the original MS., and not a copy, is not recorded. Nicholas V, in this unlike Leo X in respect of the 'First Medicean', had forbidden theft ('nolumus ut aliquis liber surripiatur'); presumably Enoch used persuasion or purchase. When he reached Rome, Nicholas was lately dead. and his successor, Pope Callixtus III, was disinclined to pay for literary finds. So, like a modern papyrus-dealer, Enoch divided up the Hersfeld MS.—or, as he soon died (in 1457), his successors may have done this—selling parts to various Italians. In particular, leaves containing the *Agricola* and more passed to Stefano Guarnieri, of an ancient and noble family of Osimo, a scholar, who, with his brother Francesco, was then founding the Iesi library. This library in 1793 passed by marriage to the Balleani family; in it the MS. was discovered in Sept. 1902 by the curator, Sig^r. Cesare Annibaldi. In 1903 the find was notified to the Historical

[1] Poggio writes of Capra as a boastful man, likely to exaggerate his finds (Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, p. 274).

[2] On Enoch see Peterson's *Dialogus* (1893). pp. lxiii ff. I know no reason to think that he was a monk.

[3] That Enoch brought back an original MS., not a copy, has been recognized for many years: see (in English) Peterson, *Dial.*, pp. lxvi foll. Peterson's theory of the MS. of Enoch has since been disproved: see below, p. xvi, note 2. Furneaux was silent as to the Hersfeld and Fulda MS., though, when he edited the *Agricola*, it was known about and had been discussed, e. g. by Peterson.

Congress at Rome, and in 1907 a minute account of the MS. was issued by its discoverer.[1]

But some outer leaves of the Hersfeld MS. were worn. These Stefano recopied, so that the MS. came to include matter transcribed partly in the fifteenth century and partly in the tenth.[2]

Soon after Enoch had brought his MS. to Rome in 1455, it was seen there by Pier Candido Decembrio (papal secretary 1450–6) who has left an account of it,[3] which shows that it is actually the MS. which Enoch brought from Hersfeld, and is, further, that which is now in the Iesi library. Decembrio's description agrees, indeed, with the Iesi MS. in shape, in contents, in the number of leaves in each section, and also in the arrangement of the writing on the page 'in columnellis' (as he notes)—a form of writing proper to the tenth century, but unusual in fifteenth-century MSS.

The Iesi MS. (*E*) consists of seventy-six folios, written in double columns:

(*a*) fo. 1–51. Dictys Cretensis, *bellum Troianum*.[4]
(*b*) fo. 52–65. *Agricola*.
(*c*) fo. 66–75. *Germania*.
fo. 76 blank.

Of this, fos. 1–4, 9, 10, and 51 (of 'Dictys') are due to Stefano Guarnieri, as Professor Annibaldi was able to show by a comparison of handwritings. The rest of 'Dictys' is in the original tenth-century hand. Of the *Agricola* fos. 52–5 and fos. 64–5 were written by Stefano.[5]

[1] *Atti del Congresso internationale di Scienze storiche*, ii. 227–32, later described by Annibaldi, *L'Agricola e la Germania di Cornelio Tacito, nel MS. latino 8 della Biblioteca del Conte G. Balleani in Iesi* (Città di Castello, 1907).

[2] The tenth-century matter extends from *Agr*. ch. 13, *munia* to 40, *ministeriis missum*. For the beginning and end of the biography we have only Guarnieri's fifteenth-century transcript; it appears that this copy is fairly accurate. Peterson (*Dial*., p. lxvi), writing in 1893, urged that Enoch's codex was a thirteenth-century document; this view he tried to maintain even after the discovery of the Iesi MS.: see his article in *American Journ. of Philology*, 34 (1913), pp. 1–14, and on the other side Gudeman, *ibid*., pp. 243–6. Gudeman's arguments are, unfortunately, not very clearly stated.

[3] Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, p. 270.

[4] A Latin prose 'Ephemeris' or diary of the Trojan war, serving as a popular abridgement of Homer, made, as it seems, in the fourth century of our era, and much read in the Middle Ages.

[5] [Fos. 69 and 70 originally followed immediately on fo. 63 and con-

Beyond doubt, *E* is the archetype of all our extant fifteenth-century MSS. of the *Agricola*. From it *T* was directly copied, and *A* and *B*, though copied, not immediately from it, but from some now lost intermediary, are both descended from it. It is credible that Crullus when transcribing *T* made a few changes of his own (see above). But apart from this, *E* is the sole and ultimate source of our knowledge of the text of the *Agricola*.

E is not very carefully or accurately written. It contains not a few clearly wrong readings and also some serious blunders in transcription, though many of these have been corrected by some one who revised it. Moreover, very few of the greater textual puzzles of the *Agricola* have received their solution from it. It would seem that the text of this treatise was already in a bad condition in the tenth century, when *E* was written. Peterson, indeed (*Dial.*, *Introd.*, p. lxvi), and others, have argued that the text of the *opera minora* has come down through some MS. full of contractions and abbreviations which the copyists did not understand. This view, however, propounded before the discovery of *E*, is not supported by it.[1] Nor, it may be added, are the difficulties and obscurities in our text of the *Agricola* such as are likely to have arisen simply from contractions and abbreviations misunderstood. If so, emendation would ere now have done more to put matters straight.

It is probable, therefore, that the text of the *Agricola* was already in a bad condition before the tenth century. MSS. were clearly rare then: so there was little chance of correcting the errors of one copy by comparison with other copies. Moreover, the *Agricola* is one of Tacitus' early works. When he wrote it his style was not yet formed, as it was when he wrote

tained the last part of the *Agricola* from *ad Agricolam codicillos* (c. 40. 2). After copying these two folios, Stefano erased the script and on 69 he wrote part of the *Germania* (*sua quoque*, c. 14. 2—*litterarum secreta*, c. 19. 1), using 76 as a fly-leaf at the end of the MS. Traces of the original text and marginal variants, which remain on both folios, show that the erased writing was a rather later and closer minuscule than that of fols. 56-63. At the end the title stands out in clear capital letters.]

[1] [Contractions are not very common, but they include the following: ē (*est*), ẽē (*esse*), ē& (*esset*), s̄ (*sunt*), adẽē (*adesse*), nob̄ (*nobis*), nr̄i (*nostri*), n̄rorum &c., ur̄a (*vestra*), ur̄m (*vestrum*), &c., ꝑ (*per*), ꝓ (*pro*), *q.* (*que*), q̄ (*quae*), qđ (*quod*), ul̄ (*vel*), *m* final indicated by suprascript bar, m̄ (= *men*), transuex̄ (= *-it*), cat̄vae (*catervae*).]

the *Annals*. Often he appears to be experimenting in Latin phrase. Even where his meaning is fairly clear, and there is no need to doubt the text, his language sometimes scarcely seems normal Latin; in the effort to express briefly and exactly a special thought, he has adopted complicated phrases which puzzled the mediaeval scribes. It has been said of two English Victorian writers, George Meredith and Robert Browning, that 'having a rare, if not unique, command of the resources of language, they became, by choice or caprice, experimentalists—one might almost say adventurers—in the art of expression. They teased their contemporaries, and perhaps they have impaired their chances with posterity, by doing a certain violence to the medium in which they worked.'[1] This is true of the *Agricola*. It contains a dozen or more tangled sentences, the true phrasing of which seems to have been lost, and which require, not the emendation of one or two words, but a liberal reconstruction, exceeding the limits of sober conjectural criticism.[2] Probably these sentences will never be emended quite convincingly till new evidence helps us.

Neither *E* nor *T* helps as much as might have been hoped, in comparison with *A* and *B*, the two MSS. previously known. At any rate *A*—thanks, perhaps, to Laetus—offers a fairly good text, and the substantial differences between the recensions drawn up by editors before 1898 (when only *A* and *B* were known), and later editions, are not so very great. Different minds will estimate these differences differently. But, while all scholars will agree in gratitude to those who made *T* and *E* known, it remains true, as Furneaux wrote twenty years ago,[3] that the 'difficulties of scholarship are greater in the *Agricola* than in any other part of the works of Tacitus'.

[F. H.]

[1] H. H. Asquith, *Aspects of the Victorian Age*, p. 10. Cp. p. lxxxvii.

[2] I mean such sentences as [to indicate them briefly]: 6, 4 *idem praeturae tenor et silentium*, &c.; 10. 4 *unde et in universum*, &c.; 20. 3 *inlacessita transierit*; 24. 2 *in melius aditus*, &c.; 28. 2, 3 *uno remigante . . . utilia raptis*; 30. 4. *sinus famae*, &c.; 31. 5 *in paenitentiam laturi*; 34. 3 *extremus metus*, &c.; 36. 3 *minimeque equestris ea*, &c.; 38, 5 *unde . . . redierat*; 44. 5 *nam sicuti durare*, &c.; 45. 1 *divisimus*, &c.; 46. 2 *admiratione . . . colamus*. [These, however, are not all on the same plane: some do not appear to need emendation and some have been satisfactorily emended.]

[3] Ed. 1, p. 5.

SECTION II

THE DATE OF THE *AGRICOLA* AND THE LIFE OF TACITUS UP TO ITS PUBLICATION

(i) The *Agricola* is one of the three lesser and earlier works of Tacitus. Of the other two, the *Germania* was completed in A. D. 98; the date of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is hotly disputed, but it differs so widely in tone and style from the *Germania* and *Agricola* that it can hardly have been contemporary with them.[1] That the *Agricola* was written shortly after Domitian's death is plain from its whole character. A more exact date can be obtained only from certain references in it to Nerva and Trajan. In c. 3 Nerva is mentioned without being called *divus* and Trajan is described as 'daily increasing the happiness of the times', whence it has been inferred that Tacitus was writing when Nerva was still alive and Trajan had been adopted as his son and made *socius imperii* and *consors tribuniciae potestatis*,[2] i. e. between the end of October A. D. 97 and January 25, A. D. 98, when Nerva died. Later, it is true, Tacitus speaks of *divus Nerva* (*Hist.* I. 1, 5), but strict uniformity was not observed in the use of *divus*, even in public utterances or inscriptions. Furneaux pointed out that in Pliny, *Paneg.* 7–10, Nerva is once called *divus* but is mentioned five times without the epithet.[3] On the other hand, in c. 44 Trajan is spoken of as *princeps*, which shows that he was already Emperor. During his co-regency Trajan was *Caesar* (as Nerva's son) but not *Augustus*, and the title *princeps* was never applied to any *Caesar*.[4] The *Agricola*, therefore, was published soon after Trajan's accession and in the same year as the *Germania*, A. D. 98, but before it, as may be inferred from the introduction (cc. 1–3).

(ii) Tacitus was born, apparently of an equestrian family, about A. D. 54–6, most probably in A. D. 55. At the dramatic

[1] The date is discussed very fully by Gudeman in his second edition, 1914, pp. 29–55. He supports the view which assigns the dialogue to the last year of Titus' reign, A.D. 81, and considers that it cannot be later than the reign of Domitian.

[2] Pliny, *Paneg.* 8. 6; 9. 1.

[3] Even in inscriptions strict uniformity is not observed (e.g. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 9200).

[4] Cp. Mommsen, *Gesamm. Schriften*, iv, p. 440, n. 3.

date of the *Dialogue*, A. D. 74–5, he calls himself *iuvenis admodum*, a phrase which he applies to Domitian at the age of 18 (*Agr.* c. 7). He was a few years older than his friend the younger Pliny,[1] who was born in the second half of A. D. 61 or the first half of A. D. 62. His father was probably the Cornelius Tacitus mentioned by the elder Pliny as an *eques Romanus Belgicae Galliae rationes procurans*, financial procurator of Gallia Belgica.[2] He was brought up to the bar, and was probably a pupil of Quintilian. In A. D. 77 he married the daughter of Agricola[3] and began his political career, the stages of which he indicates in the first chapter of the *Histories*, but in words too vague for precise interpretation. Being by birth an *eques*, he must have received admission to the senatorial order by a grant of the *latus clavus*, the right to wear the broad purple stripe on the tunic, from some emperor, evidently Vespasian, who doubtless also gave him his military commission as *tribunus militum*. He became quaestor under Vespasian, or more probably Titus, and tribune (or aedile) under Titus, or more probably Domitian. In 88 he was *praetor* and *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, in which capacity he took part in the celebration of Domitian's Saecular Games at Rome (*Ann.* 11. 11). By this time, as Pliny tells us, he had reached a very high position among the orators of the day and was one of the leaders of the Roman bar.[4] After his praetorship he was absent from Rome for four years (*Agr.* c. 45) from 89 or 90 to 93, holding either a legionary command or, more probably, a provincial governorship suitable to an ex-praetor, possibly in the province of Belgica, where his father had been procurator and where he may have acquired his knowledge about Germany. During this absence his father-in-law died. Soon afterwards he returned to Rome, where he showed no more independence than the mass of senators (c. 45). He held no further office till he became consul *suffectus* under Nerva in 97.[5] Subsequently under Trajan he reached the highest office open to

[1] Pliny, *Epp.* 7. 20, 3.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7. 16, 76.

[3] That there were no children of the marriage (at least in 98) is a practically certain inference from *Agr.* c. 46 (cp. cc. 44, 45).

[4] Pliny, *Epp.* 7. 20. 4; 9. 23, 2; 2. 1, 6; 2. 11, 2 and 17.

[5] *Rhein. Mus.* 44 (1889), p. 273 and 51 (1896), p. 474; *Klio* 1 (1901), p. 311 note, where the consulship is assigned to the four months May–August.

a senator, an office denied to his father-in-law (c. 42)—the proconsulate of Asia,[1] which he held probably in 112–13.[2] Thus at the time when he published the *Agricola* Tacitus was an ex-consul and had had full experience of life under the Flavians and their immediate successors.

SECTION III

THE LITERARY CHARACTER AND THE PURPOSE OF THE WORK

The literary character and the purpose of the *Agricola* have been the subject of much discussion. Tacitus, indeed, would seem to have made both abundantly clear. In the preface he says: 'To write the biographies of distinguished men is a time-honoured practice, which has not been abandoned even in our own indifferent age. Its purpose is to rescue merit from oblivion. Formerly biography could be written without suspicion of ulterior motives; even autobiography evoked no criticism, for excellence was highly esteemed. But in these times apology is needed for writing the life even of a dead man; so hostile is the age to merit. Biographical writing, it is true, no longer involves the risk of death, but literary powers have suffered from long disuse, and cannot be at once restored. Nevertheless it will not be an unpleasant task to write, even in a rough and unpolished style, the history of our servitude under Domitian, and to bear witness to the blessings we enjoy under Trajan. Meantime[3] I publish this book, which is intended as a tribute to my father-in-law, and, as an expression of dutiful affection (*pietas*), it will be, if not praised, at least excused.'

This would appear to be a tolerably plain statement of the author's purpose. He has written a laudatory biography of

[1] Inscr. of Mylasa in Caria, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 14 (1890), p. 621, corrected in *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad.* 132 (1895), p. 18.

[2] Heberdey, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* viii (1905), p. 237.

[3] *Interim* implies merely that the historical monograph is a work for the future, not that the *Agricola* is an anticipation or an instalment of that work, and similar in character to it. Cp. Gantrelle, *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.*, 1877, p. 780; Leo, *Griech.-röm. Biogr.* (next note), p. 229; Hendrickson (see below, p. xxvii, note 2), p. 4 f. Gantrelle justly remarked that similarity of character is just as little implied as if Tacitus had said: 'Meanwhile I publish a couple of odes in honour of Agricola.'

a near relative who had died five years previously, but who could not be commemorated till now, a man of noble character and notable achievements, whose memory deserved to be kept alive. And the book closes with the same declaration; *Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.*

Biographies of this type were well known in Rome[1] and familiar to Romans of Tacitus' day in the form of lives of political martyrs, such as those of Thrasea and Helvidius, to which reference is made in c. 2. They were all frankly eulogistic—encomia, not critical appreciations. The custom of writing them grew up side by side with, and perhaps directly out of, the practice of delivering funeral speeches (*laudationes funebres*) over the dead. They shared the purely laudatory character of these orations, and sometimes took their place.[2] They were modelled either by direct imitation or indirectly, through the influence of Greek rhetorical doctrine, on the Greek biographical encomium, of which the oldest surviving examples are the *Agesilaos* of Xenophon and the *Evagoras* of Isocrates. These two came to be regarded as models in this branch of literature, and formed the basis of the rules formulated by later rhetoricians for composition in the encomiastic style. The general mode of treatment and the difference between encomium and historical narrative are well illustrated by a passage of Polybius (10. 21), where he tells us that he had already written an encomium on Philopoemen, describing his birth, descent, education, and achievements. There his achievements were recounted briefly (as illustrations of character) and with exaggeration (αὔξησις), as panegyric required; but in a history they must be treated in detail and in a different manner, because history is not committed to praise, but aims at a true account of events with an exposition of their causal nexus. The distinction is of importance for a true estimate of the *Agricola*.

But the contents and the tone of the treatise have raised difficulties in the minds of scholars. In literary form or in purpose, or in both, it has been considered to be not a genuine biography. The form and the purpose are distinct questions. We take the form first.

[1] The development of Biography in Greek and Roman literature has been traced by F. Leo in a masterly work, *Griechische-römische Biographie*, 1901.

[2] Pliny, *Epp.* 8 12. 4.

(i) It was long ago pointed out that the main portion of the book (cc. 10–38) is written not in the biographical, but in the historical style of narrative. The ethnological and geographical description of Britain (cc. 10–12), the survey of the earlier history of the conquest and government of the island (cc. 13–17), the annalistic description of Agricola's campaigns (cc. 18–38), the mention of the death of a subordinate officer (c. 37), the episode of the Usipian cohort (c. 28), the elaborate speeches put into the mouths of Calgacus and Agricola before the final battle (cc. 30–4), and the detailed account of the battle itself (cc. 35–8), are all in the specifically historical style, and all wholly out of place in a biography. From the literary point of view, therefore, the *Agricola* is a hybrid product, a mixture of biography and history. Adopting and developing this view, Andresen [1] accounted for the heterogeneous character of the work by the theory that the central portion was not originally intended to form part of a biography of Agricola, but was taken from an account of the conquest of Britain written after the recall of Agricola in 84, as a preliminary study for the historical work on Domitian's reign which Tacitus mentions (in c. 3) as already in contemplation, and which ultimately appeared (but, it should be noted, in an essentially different form) as the *Histories*. After Agricola's death this fragment was pieced out with a biographical prelude and conclusion, to form the book as it stands.

There are obvious difficulties in this hypothesis. The method of composition which it presupposes is not one likely to have been employed by an artist like Tacitus, even in the earliest stage of his literary career. Nor is there any evidence that Tacitus was actually engaged on his projected historical work,[2] or on studies preliminary to it, before he left Rome in A. D. 90 to hold a provincial post. The internal evidence, too, does not support the theory. The narrative could scarcely have been intended to be inserted as it stands in the *Histories*. As

[1] *Festschrift d. Gymn. zum grauen Kloster*, Berlin, 1874, starting from the results reached by Hirzel in a dissertation *Über die Tendenz des Agricola*, Tübingen, 1871.

[2] The publication of the *Histories* began about A. D. 104, and was continued till Tacitus was appointed proconsul of Asia about 112 (see p. xxi). As Gudeman pointed out, shortly before 106 Tacitus had not completed his collection of materials for the year 79 (Pliny, *Epp.* 6. 16, 1).

Furneaux noted, the achievements not only of Agricola, but also of Cerialis and Frontinus, must have been there related on a scale proportionate to their importance, and at least those of Agricola must have been broken up into periods,[1] though, doubtless, given special prominence as the one great success of a time marked generally by military incapacity and disaster.[2] This part of the book is, indeed, somewhat sharply marked off, and occupies a relatively large space, but 'both these facts seem sufficiently explained if we bear in mind that Agricola's achievements covered the central period of his life and were the one ground for enrolling him among great men; while the previous history also is either that of events in which he had a subordinate share, or explains the state of things with which he had to deal, and even the account of the island and its people is a description of the theatre of his exploits. The strong resemblance to Sallust also suggests that the work was composed as a whole and on a definite plan, with the *Jugurtha* and *Catiline* before the author's mind' (see p. lxxxi). Furneaux's conclusion was that we can hardly say more than that, though the material was furnished from the same sources as that of the historical work, it was recast and adapted to a biographical purpose by curtailing the mention of other actors in it, and selecting for prominence the points in which the direct action of Agricola was most evident.

But though strong reasons may be adduced for rejecting Andresen's theory, the contention that the work is not homogeneous in character is not thereby disproved. Gudeman has sought to refute it by showing that Tacitus has in all essential

[1] In the *Annals*, the British history under Claudius was treated of in at least two separate places (in the lost portion, and in 12. 31-40); that under Nero in one only (14. 29-39). In the *Histories*, the achievements of Cerialis and Frontinus all occurred under Vespasian, and may have been related in one place. Those of Agricola fell under all the three Flavian emperors, and were probably more broken up in narration. That the whole story, as we have it here, extending, as it does, over nearly half the period covered by the *Histories*, was intended (as Andresen thinks) to be inserted in one place, seems only possible on the supposition that the original project of that work was planned on a far smaller scale than that on which it ultimately appeared (see note on c. 3. 3).

[2] Furneaux also remarked that such a purely domestic incident as the death of Agricola's son (c. 29. 1) would assuredly find no place in a general history, nor should we expect there such very brief mention of the operations of the first six years, or of such an important event as the circumnavigation of Britain (c. 38, 5).

points exactly conformed to the formal rules laid down by the later rhetoricians for biographical encomium, and especially by Menander in his Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν.[1] The rhetorical scheme, formulated primarily with reference to the laudatory speech (λόγος ἐπιδεικτικός),[2] but also applicable in general to the narrative encomium intended to be read, divided the treatment of eulogy into six parts: (1) introduction, (2) the hero's birth, parentage, and education, (3) personal traits and virtues, (4) achievements, (5) comparison with others (σύγκρισις), and (6) epilogue, a certain latitude being allowed in the arrangement of the subject-matter of the third, fourth, and fifth sections. Tacitus was indeed saturated with rhetorical culture, but it would be surprising if he had allowed himself—here and here only—to be cramped by the trammels of formal rhetorical rules; and in truth Gudeman's arguments are unconvincing. The cogency of Leo's criticisms will hardly be denied.[3] The description of Agricola's qualities is not confined in a mechanical way to one section; it runs like a purple thread through the whole narrative, which is made to convey to the reader a complete picture of the hero's personality as an official, as a general, as a senator, and as a private man. There is no formal 'comparison' with others. Gudeman maintains that the survey of Agricola's predecessors in Britain (cc. 13-17) is to be interpreted in that way, but no indication is given that such is its purpose, as rhetorical precept required, and it is not worked out in the rhetorical manner. Nor can it be maintained that the central portion of the book agrees with the rhetorical treatment of the hero's achievements (πράξεις). Rhetorical theory treated the hero's acts as illustrations of his virtues, and so excluded such a continuous narration of them as Tacitus gives in cc. 18–38; while the geographical and ethnological introduction prefixed in cc. 10–12 is hardly the sort of description contemplated by the decorative ἐκφράσεις recognized by the rhetoricians on the φύσεις καὶ θέσεις χωρίων. In short, so far as the *Agricola* conforms to the rhetorical rules, the correspondence is fully explained by the biographical nature of the rubrics which the rhetoricians drew up for formal encomium.

[1] Gudeman's English edition, 1899, and German edition, 1902. Menander's treatise belongs to the end of the third century after Christ, but it reflects orthodox Greek traditions.

[2] Especially the type of imperial panegyric known as the βασιλικὸς λόγος.

[3] *Gr.-röm. Biographie*, pp. 228 ff.

The form of the *Agricola* is, in outline, a simple and natural biographical form, but the whole central part (cc. 10–40) is (as previous critics maintained) treated in a manner alien to biography. 'True, the narrative leads up to Agricola, and from c. 18 he is the leading figure, but only in the way in which the general must be in every military history.' The whole narrative is in the specifically historical style, and there is even introduced an episode (c. 28) which has no connexion with the life and deeds of Agricola. In thus overstepping the limits of biography, Tacitus was doubtless influenced by his historical studies and by the monographs of Sallust; the difference is that, while Sallust introduced biographical elements into history, Tacitus introduced historical elements into biography; and the result is a lack of balance in the work as a whole.

To this view Gudeman has rejoined[1] that, although it is true that the later rhetoricians prescribed that the hero's acts should be narrated as illustrations of his virtues, and distributed under that heading, yet Quintilian[2] (no doubt on the basis of older sources) gives as an alternative method the purely historical narration of the *res gestae*; and this is in fact the method adopted by Xenophon and Isocrates in the biographies which the rhetoricians took as their model. But this is to admit that the rules of the later rhetoricians are not followed by Tacitus: and it should be noted that the use of the narrative style made by Xenophon and, still more, by Isocrates, differs widely from that of Tacitus.

That Tacitus should have cast the central portion of his biography in the historical form of narrative is not, perhaps, surprising. Agricola's achievements in exploring and conquering northern Britain were his sole title to fame, and a description of them which should not be mere vapid eulogy could hardly take any other form. But probably not a few students of Tacitus have felt that the style of narrative here differs from that of his historical works. The description is more general, and the avoidance of military, topographical, and other details is more marked. Further, the personality of Agricola is very prominent throughout, and his qualities are constantly made conspicuous. Furneaux drew attention to this last point, though he was disinclined to lay too much stress on it, since

[1] German edition, p. 5. [2] 3. 7. 15–16.

the same characteristic appears in military narratives in the greater works, notably in those of the campaigns of Germanicus and Corbulo.[1] Furneaux's line of thought has been developed by Prof. G. L. Hendrickson.[2] He observes that the historical form of narrative had the advantage of apparent objectivity, and enabled Tacitus to avoid the invidiousness of direct praise. But, he argues, the narrative differs so essentially in character from the manner of historiography used by Tacitus elsewhere (as well as by Sallust and Livy) that the account is not in essence historical nor analogous to other historical narratives in which a commander plays a similar leading part; it is rather biographical and laudatory. The writer's motive is characterization rather than narration; the events are so described as to show up Agricola's qualities, they are set forth as evidence and proof of his virtues rather than objectively for their historical significance. If we compare Tacitus' account of other commanders for whom he had a similarly warm admiration, for instance, Germanicus in the *Annals*, we find a different method employed. There the events are rarely used to characterize the commander directly; the characterization lies in the narrative itself, and the reader is left to gather the general's qualities from his acts and words. There is nothing at all comparable, for example, to the descriptions in cc. 19–22 of the *Agricola*.

Hendrickson is inclined to go too far, as when he argues that because the author's motive is characterization, it is futile to attempt to trace the geography; in the *Annals* Tacitus' geography is almost equally vague (see below, p. xxxviii). But there is evident truth in his contention, as Andresen himself has admitted,[3] although he would attribute the difference of method in the *Annals* to the more mature development of the historian's art, and considers that explanation the more probable because there is no difference in the effect produced. Certainly Tacitus had not yet formed his own historical style (p. lxxxvi); his *vox* was still *rudis et incondita*. But here we seem to have a real difference of method, too marked to be ascribed merely to immature development; it seems rather a case of choosing a historical form of narrative adapted to the purpose of biography. Whether this departure from conven-

[1] See *Annals*, vol. i, *Introd.*, p. 17; vol. ii, *Introd.*, p. 113 f.

[2] *Univ. of Chicago Decennial Publications*, vi, 1904.

[3] *Jahresb. d. phil. Vereins zu Berlin*, 29 (1903), p. 220.

tional form was an entire innovation, we cannot say, but it seems very probable. Whether it has marred the unity and effect of the work, is a question on which opinions may differ. At any rate there appears to be little in the narrative[1] that is really irrelevant to the author's purpose of glorifying Agricola. Everything, or nearly everything,[1] serves in one way or another to set in relief the hero's character and achievements.

(ii) There remains the question of the purpose of the book. Some scholars have declined to accept Tacitus' declaration as the whole truth, holding that the *Agricola* was not merely a tribute of *pietas*, but, above all, a defence of his own political creed, and that this political purpose led to the publication of the biography at the particular time when it appeared. Furneaux adopted and elaborated this view.[2] 'There were no doubt those who cherished against Agricola a . . . vindictive feeling. The repression of opinion under Domitian had been followed at his death by a strong reaction. As men had said twenty six years previously, "the best day after a bad emperor is the first."[3] Nerva had proclaimed full freedom[4]; exiles were everywhere recalled,[5] and came back full of vindictive feelings against the tools of the tyranny under which they had suffered. Even unaggressive men like Pliny sought to win fame by accusing accusers,[6] and Nerva had to interfere to restrain the thirst for vengeance.[7] In this excited state of feeling even the moderate politicians could not hope to escape at least censure and depreciation, and to this class Agricola and Tacitus belonged.

'Such men, the more ardent spirits would proclaim, had been

[1] See the notes on cc. 10, 14, 15. Perhaps the least relevant portion is the account of the island and its inhabitants in cc. 10-12, which does little to perform the legitimate function of acquainting the reader with the character of the country and its people. On the mention of the death of a subordinate officer (c. 37), and the episode of the Usipian cohort (c. 28), see the notes.

[2] Under the influence particularly of Gantrelle, *Revue de l'Instruction publique en Belgique*, 1870: cp. *Jahrb. f. class. Philologie* 1877. Its most extreme representative is E. Hoffmann, *Zft. f. oesterr. Gymn.*, 1870.

[3] *Hist.* 4. 42. 9. In describing the whole scene in the senate at that date, Tacitus has probably in mind the similar state of things so clearly fixed in his own memory.

[4] c. 3. 1. [5] Dio, 68. 1, 2.

[6] *Epp.* 9. 13. 2.

[7] Dio, 68. 1, 3. Cp. his protection of some informers, such as Veiento (Pliny, *Epp.* 4. 22. 4).

passive supporters, if not aiders and abettors, of these acts of tyranny: men would remember their silence, their submissive acquiescence. Agricola had been tribune at the time of the trial of Thrasea,[1] and had shown no such generous impulse as Arulenus Rusticus.[2] He had served Domitian in Britain when he had a great army and might have set up the standard of revolt like Antonius Saturninus.[3] After his return to Rome, his eight years of non-resistance, or (as they would put it) of servile acquiescence in the senate, his conduct in relation to his pro-consulate, his nomination of the emperor as co-heir in his will (a degradation which, it would be pointed out, bolder spirits had spurned[4]), would all be matter of invective. Nor would the son-in-law be without his share of censure. He had owed to Domitian a praetorship, a priesthood, the governorship of a province,[5] he had been at Rome as a senator during the last and worst years of the reign of terror and had been no bolder than those around him.

'We can plainly see that we have in many parts of this treatise a political manifesto in praise of moderation, and a vindication, expressly of Agricola, and (by implication) of Tacitus himself from the charge of servility and want of true public spirit and patriotism . . .

'Nor is Tacitus satisfied to write an apologetic biography. On the contrary, he carries the war into the enemy's country, draws a political moral from the character which he has painted, and defends by a great example others of similar disposition who "did not invite renown and ruin by defiance and empty assumption of freedom". He bids "those whose habit it is to admire forbidden ideals to learn that great men can live under bad princes, and that obedience and self-control, when they are joined to capacity for work and energy, can reach as high a pinnacle of fame as that of those who tread the path of peril, and owe their glory, without any service rendered to their country, to a theatrical and ostentatious death.[6]"'

[1] See c. 6, 3 and note.

[2] He was also tribune, and had made a private offer to Thrasea to interpose his veto in the senate.

[3] See Suet. *Dom.* 6.

[4] See the case of L. Vetus, *Ann.* 16. 11, 3.

[5] See above, p. xx. His obligation to Domitian is admitted in *Hist.* 1. 1, 4.

[6] c. 42, 4–5.

This view was suggested primarily by the criticism of the Stoic opposition just quoted, 'written' (said Gantrelle) 'not by a historian, but by an angry advocate defending a client whom he loved and admired against politicians of another creed'; and it was reinforced by 'the apologetic character of the whole work, which is not a genuine biography giving a true expression of the author's real opinion, but a studied panegyric.' There is little probability in the theory. The purely laudatory character of the work has already been explained; it was characteristic of all biographies. The censure of the Stoic extremists, with whose attitude Tacitus always disagrees, but whose failings he elsewhere touches with a far gentler hand,[1] reads rather like an advocate's heated reply to a criticism, made or anticipated, of what might not unreasonably be deemed an act of discreditable timidity on his client's part.[2] The praise of moderation is no proof that Tacitus was writing an *apologia*. We may agree with Boissier that he was reading a lesson which was needed during the fevered days following Domitian's death, a lesson which it required courage to read then.[3] But this cannot have been his sole, nor his main, purpose. True, it represented his political creed, but the same creed is reproduced throughout his later historical works written in the calm days of Trajan's principate. Furneaux admitted that 'in all his writings it is to moderate men that his most unstinted praise is given, to such as Manius Lepidus,[4] Memmius Regulus,[5] Julius Frontinus,[6] and others who served their country well in trying times, who accepted monarchical government as inevitable[7] and "prayed for good emperors, but

[1] As Furneaux observed, referring to *Hist.* 4. 6, 1; *Ann.* 14. 49. 5; 16. 26. 6.

[2] Cp. Hendrickson, *op. cit.*, p. 26 f. To praise Agricola's withdrawal as an act of glory is really absurd, and the whole chapter seems to betray the consciousness that it was more nearly allied to *deforme obsequium* and needed special pleading.

[3] *Tacite*, c. IV, sect. iii.

[4] See the interesting remarks (*Ann.* 4. 20. 5) on those who would say that such a man was only saved by his destiny. Less eminent men of the same type under Tiberius were L. Piso, the city praefect (*Ann.* 6. 10. 3) and Poppaeus Sabinus, who was *par negotiis neque supra* (*Ann.* 6. 39. 3).

[5] He is described (*Ann.* 14. 47, 1) as *auctoritate, constantia, fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus.*

[6] *Vir magnus, quantum licebat* (c. 17. 2).

[7] Cp. the words attributed to Galba in adopting an heir (*Hist.* 1. 16 1).

made the best of such as they had "[1] instead of either haughtily standing aloof from public life and taking philosophy as a fine name to veil their indolence,[2] or committing themselves to an opposition so uncompromising as to be unable even to bear the rule of Vespasian.'[3]

The supposition that there was a strong hostile feeling not only against Domitian's tools, but against all who had taken part in public life under him, lacks evidence, and is in itself improbable. Censure and depreciation could not come from the mass of senators who had been cowed to submissive acquiescence, and with whom Tacitus ranges himself.[4] It could come only from the extremists, among whom there may still, perhaps, have been a few doctrinaires opposed to the principate as such. But of the irreconcilables only a weakened and chastened remnant can have survived, and the philosophical opposition in general died down under the new régime of 'freedom'. It was against the *delatores* that the outburst of fury was directed, and in that campaign the moderates took part, even mild men like Pliny, who tells us with charming naïveté that he judged it a good opportunity 'to avenge the victims and to put himself forward.'[5] From such violences Tacitus held aloof, judging them (as Nerva did) unworthy and useless to the State; very possibly it was he (or his colleague) who, as president of the Senate, called Pliny to order on this occasion.[6] To all extremists Tacitus by his persistent praise of moderation wished to point a moral. But he was hardly repelling attacks. There was nothing exceptional in the attitude adopted by Agricola and himself. It was the attitude adopted by Nerva and Trajan, by Verginius Rufus, Vestricius Spurinna, and many good men of the time. All alike were open to the criticism, which Tacitus puts into the mouth of the notorious Eprius Marcellus,[7] 'that they were members of a Senate who

[1] The sentiment put into the mouth of the unworthy Eprius Marcellus (*Hist.* 4. 8, 3), *bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare*, may well have been felt by better men.

[2] *Ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret* (*Hist.* 4. 5, 2). The dreamy philosopher, who preaches to men armed for civil war, is ridiculed in Musonius Rufus (*Hist.* 3. 81, 1).

[3] The *ambitiosa mors* in his mind (c. 42, 5) is probably, above all, that of Helvidius under Vespasian.

[4] c. 45.

[5] *Epp.* 9. 13, 2.

[6] *Ibid.* sect. 9. See F. Münzer in *Klio*, i, p. 311 note.

[7] *Hist.* 4. 8, 5.

had all been slaves together'. To have bent before the storm was not considered a crime. *Vixisti nobiscum*, said Pliny in his address to Trajan,[1] *periclitatus es, timuisti, quae tunc erat innocentium vita . . . Meministi quae optare nobiscum, quae sis queri solitus.*

SECTION IV

AGRICOLA

Amongst the minor personages of the empire Agricola is perhaps the most remarkable. His is the name best known to-day to ordinary readers, outside the ranks of professed historians; after no other Roman governor, perhaps, have town-councils christened their streets and antiquaries their children. Yet his fame has come down by a curiously slender thread of transmission. Ancient literature seldom mentions him; even Tacitus in his extant works refers to him only in the *Agricola*, and no later writer names him at all, save the third-century historian Cassius Dio, who refers to him twice.[2] On inscriptions his name occurs once, on a leaden pipe of A. D. 79, found at Chester.[3] Even his biography seems to have been little read in the Roman world.[4] It is all a strange contrast to the forecast with which the biography closes: *multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.* But Tacitus did not write in vain. Like Bouillé at Metz, or Melchizedek in the Jewish story, Agricola comes before us in this one biography, in unforgettable fashion, and vanishes. The Roman Empire had many administrators of whom we get such glimpses,

sed omnes inlacrimabiles
urgentur ignotique longa
nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

[1] *Panegyr.* 44. 1.

[2] 39. 50. 4; 66. 20. 1. It does not seem probable that Dio derived his knowledge from the lost books of the *Histories*: cp. notes on c. 28. 1; c. 43. 2.

[3] Quoted in the note to c. 46. 4.

[4] See 'Tacitus during the late Roman period', &c., in *Journ. Rom. Stud.* vi (1916), pp. 196 ff.

Yet of Agricola, after many days, the prophecy of Tacitus has come true. If the Roman world neglected him, the modern world knows him well. And indeed, in ancient Britain, it seems, his memory lived on in some humble fashion ; his name, shortened to Aircol, survives in an early Welsh genealogy.[1] It is only a single entry in a long string of names, but at least it testifies to some native recollection of the man.

In himself, Agricola is interesting as a specimen of a new class of men who joined freely in the administration of the empire during the latter half of the first century. In Republican days the world had been ruled by the senate. That aristocracy was now dying out. In its prime, during the Hannibalic wars, it had done magnificent work and had saved Rome, through the years when the great Carthaginian general was sweeping Italy with the besom of destruction. In its decay it became the proudest, stubbornest, most inhuman oligarchy known to history. Finally it grew incompetent to rule, and it fell. During the early empire those old nobles, aristocrats in the worst sense, were giving place to the new men, not aristocrats but middle-class or *bourgeois*, not purely Roman, but Italians, and still more, provincials, with new and gentler ideals.

Agricola was not even by descent a member of the old order. By birth he belonged not to Rome or Italy, but to south-eastern Gaul. There he was born in A. D. 40[2] at Forum Julii (Fréjus), where, a trifle more than eighty years previously, Julius Caesar had planted a *colonia*, peopling it with time-expired men from his Eighth Legion[3]—men who, as legionaries, held the full Roman franchise and knew something of Roman ways and speech, and were not Gauls but, in the main at least, Italian-born.[4]

Agricola's *nomen* Iulius suggests that his paternal ancestor

[1] Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, ed. 4, p. 258.

[2] See note on c. 44, 1.

[3] *CIL*. xii, p. 38. *Colonia Octavanorum Pacensis* (or *Pacata*) *Classica Forum Iuli* seems to have been the full name. The two epithets seem to date from 30 B.C. (cp. *Ann*. 4. 5, 1), and some assign the foundation of the colony to Augustus.

[4] Caesar admitted some Gauls to his legions (e. g. the Vth Alaudae), but he did not go far in this direction. The Eighth Legion was one of those with which he started in Gaul in 59 B. C. ; before that it had probably been in Spain, and it was then presumably composed of Italians. During the eight years of the Gallic war it must have come to include recruits from various sources ; speculation on the precise origins of those serving in it about 46 B. C. would be idle.

belonged to some group of Gauls who had been enfranchised by Caesar, either as soldiers or as citizens of the original *colonia*, and who therefore bore his *nomen*.[1] In any case, Agricola was by legal status a full Roman citizen, and had behind him three generations of the sentiment implied by such citizenship. His father sat in the Roman senate; both his grandfathers were Roman *equites*. On his mother's side, indeed, he may have inherited a tinge of Gaulish sentiment. Her *cognomen*, Procilla, is frequent in Gaul[2] (though not confined to it), and may imply some not precisely definable Gaulish element in the family, just as certain Catholic or Teutonic Christian names to-day would probably imply Catholic or German leanings or associations in a modern English family.

The family entered Roman administrative circles by gradual steps. In the first generation known to us, Agricola's grandfathers were procurators of equestrian rank. His father, Iulius Graecinus, son of a procurator, married another procurator's daughter, and, apparently by favour of Tiberius, got into the Roman senate, and reached the praetorship. He was one of the many southern Gauls who were fully Romanized in the early empire: he had literary tastes, and wrote on the cultivation of the vine—no doubt with reference to the rich vineyards of the Rhone—and he is said to have written with wit and learning.[3] The elder Pliny also quotes him. Seneca, too, refers to him as *vir egregius*, seemingly because he once or twice stood up against abuses of the imperial rule.[4] As praetor he thus refused to truckle to Caligula, and lost his life. He died just after the birth of Agricola, A. D. 40.[5]

[1] The index to *CIL*. xii names some 600 men or women called Iulius or Iulia. Valerius is perhaps the next most common *nomen*, probably originating from grants of citizenship made by C. Valerius Flaccus, governor of the province in 83 B.C. (Caes. *B. G.* 1. 47, 4; 7. 65, 2).

[2] Cp., for example, Dessau *Insc. Sel.* 7383, of the maternal grandmother of Antoninus Pius. Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, 2. 1070, omits Procilla and seems to regard Troucillus or Trougillus (both attested by inscriptions) as the proper form of Procillus, which appears to occur only in Caesar, *B. G.* 1. 47, 4; 53, 5 (where MS. evidence is unanimous, except that Vind. 1 reads Troicillus), and is not attested in inscriptions. On the other hand, Zeuss accepted the form Procillus without misgivings (*Gramm. Celtica*, 1871, p. 767).

[3] Columella, 1. 1. 14. The cognomen *Agricola* given to his son probably reflects the father's interest in agriculture; cp. note on c. 4, 1.

[4] *Epp.* 29. 6; *De benef.* 2. 21, 5.

[5] See note on c. 4, 1.

After her husband's death Procilla transferred her home[1] from Fréjus to the Graeco-Roman city of Massilia (Marseilles), the centre of culture and the university of South Gaul. Here Agricola went to school, and completed his education by going through the course of higher study that was usually taken by young men belonging to the upper class of Roman and Romanized society.

A senator's son was expected to enter the senatorial career of office and administration. His birth gave him the necessary qualification for admission to that career, the right to assume with the dress of manhood the *latus clavus*, or broad purple stripe on the tunic, which men of lower rank could only acquire by favour of the emperor.[2] By Augustus' ordinance, the first step in the senator's career was the tenure of a military commission as tribune in a legion; this commission Agricola held in Britain in A. D. 61, the year of the great uprising under Boudicca (Boadicea), acquitting himself with distinction enough to be promoted to an appointment on the staff of his commander-in-chief, Suetonius Paulinus. Then he passed through the usual round of offices, becoming quaestor in 64, tribune in 66, praetor in 68, and, after holding a military command (again in Britain) as legate of a legion under Cerialis, returned to be enrolled among the patrician aristocracy and appointed governor of Aquitania. In A.D. 77 he held the consulship for some months, and immediately thereafter, either in the same or the following year,[3] he went out to administer the province of Britain, with the normal rank and title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, as he is styled on the Chester inscription.[4]

Here for seven summers he fought with success and administered with efficiency. He completed the conquest of Wales begun by his predecessors, and, indeed, completed it so thoroughly that after him no further resistance of the natives to Roman rule can be traced here, though other parts of the island were not always so obedient. He carried the Roman

[1] *Statim parvulus*, &c., c. 4, 3.

[2] On the *latus clavus*, cp. Pelham, *Essays in Rom. Hist.* p. 126, where, however, by mistake, it is said to be a stripe on the toga; probably also there were two stripes.

[3] On the dates, and especially the date when his governorship of Britain began (which is uncertain), see notes on c. 9, 7 and 18, 1, and Appendix I.

[4] See note on c. 46, 4.

arms far into Scotland, and the remains of his age which have been discovered north of Cheviot—sites of Roman forts, potsherds, coins, &c.—show that his work was very considerable (see p. li ff.). Historians have tended to depreciate unduly his military talents. 'Tacitus, no soldier himself', wrote Professor Haverfield, 'says little about his military powers and capacities; once (c. 22) he records that the sites of his forts were singularly well chosen and strong, and he implies that he was rather a good engineer and commissariat officer than a strategist or tactician. Certainly he was no military genius. The man who thought that Ireland could be tamed and held with eight or ten thousand men (c. 24) can have had little military imagination or power of foreseeing difficulties. In this, as in some other details, he was plainly an optimist—the first of many optimists who have dealt with Ireland. His Caledonian campaigns evince a similar optimism: he thought, it seems, that the hills and hill-tribes of Caledonia would offer few obstacles to his advance. The government in Rome thought otherwise; hard pressed as it was for men to face more dangerous enemies on the Danube, it recalled him after he had vindicated Roman prestige by the fight of *mons Graupius* (p. lxx).

No doubt Agricola was a cheerful optimist, whose enthusiasm caused him to underrate difficulties. Plainly he had very little real knowledge about Ireland.[1] Plainly, too, the completion of the military occupation of Scotland would have been less easy than he thought, but probably it could have been accomplished without material difficulty,[2] and it may well be doubted whether the knowledge that the conquest of the Highlands would have been difficult and unprofitable was one of the considerations that influenced Domitian's decision not to pursue it. The decisive factor was rather the pressing need of additional troops to deal with the dangerous situation in eastern Europe. Nor did the withdrawal of troops from Britain—as is now clear—lead to the abandonment of any ground that Agricola had won (see p. lxxi ff.). But for Trajan's follies and the steadily growing, and ever more exhausting, burden of Imperial defence in later time, the ground need never have been lost at all. Agricola's advance into central Scotland was no mere raid with transient effects; and the rapidity,

[1] He appears to have taken the statements of the refugee Irish prince at their face value (c. 24, 3 note).

[2] Cp. Mommsen, *Provinces*, i, p. 185.

extent, and permanence of his conquests as a whole are an unquestionable proof of military capacity. Tacitus' mention of the admiration expressed by military experts for Agricola's skill as an engineer—an admiration echoed by their modern confrères—hardly implies the denial of strategical or tactical gifts, nor does the inference appear to accord with the cumulative effect of his military narrative. Certainly it was far from his intention to damn his hero with such faint praise.

Besides military gifts, Agricola had other virtues well suited to a provincial governor.[1] He was simple in manner, hard-working, balanced in judgement, honest in money matters, kindly towards the native population. Tacitus' portrait bears every mark of truthfulness. These were the characteristic traits of the new aristocracy that rose to prominence under Vespasian, himself the embodiment of the new spirit.[2] Agricola's provincial origin gave him sympathy with the people he ruled. Like many men of his age—and unlike his own son-in-law, if we may judge from his cynical phrases[3]—he saw the advantage of diffusing Roman civilization in the provinces, and, though he does not appear to have initiated this policy in Britain,[4] he deserves praise for recognizing its merit and zealously forwarding it. It is from his time that we discern in our island the development of orderly, civilized life, the growth of towns, the spread of the Roman language and Roman ideas.[5]

SECTION V

TACITUS' ACCOUNT OF BRITAIN

The brief account of Britain given by Tacitus in the *Agricola* (cc. 10–12) is the only one which occurs in any of his extant works, and the special knowledge (due to his father-in-

[1] Cp. Haverfield, *Edinburgh Review*, 1911 (April), p. 476.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* 3. 55. 5.

[3] c. 21 *ut . . . quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent—delenimenta vitiorum—idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.*

[4] Cp. note on *vitiis blandientibus*, c. 16. 4.

[5] See the notes on c. 21. The Roman colony at Lincoln (Lindum) was established about A. D. 74–7, after the Ninth Legion was moved forward to York (Eburacum): cp. Prof. McElderry, *Class. Rev.* xviii, p. 398; Haverfield, *Romanization*, 3, p. 57: below, pp. lv, lxxx.

law) on which it was evidently based ought to make it peculiarly important to British archaeologists. Unfortunately, its defects make it very disappointing. For these defects are most conspicuous in the scantiness and vagueness of its geographical and topographical detail: this feature possibly accounts in part for the fact that the *Agricola* was so little read in mediaeval England.[1]

Tacitus had a literary rather than a scientific mind. He cared for the ethical, emotional, and human side of his subject, more than for the facts of his narrative. This distinguishes him from Polybius and even from Livy. The ideal of a modern historian, such as Leopold von Ranke: 'Ich will nur sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist', would have seemed to him a bloodless ideal; he dealt with a stage on which living and feeling men were moving. Therefore he did not care to admit technicalities, or to vex his public with geographical or military minutiae, which, indeed, many readers find hard to apprehend without a mental effort. He eschewed such tiresome detail, and perhaps did so more in his earlier than in his later works. The *Histories* contain fuller details of military organization (names and numbers of legions, &c.) than the *Annals*, and, though this may be due to the different scales of the two works, it is noticeable that the *Agricola* also gives scanty information respecting the legions of Agricola's army, and helps little to a true understanding of the military occupation of Britain in Agricola's time, or even to an accurate knowledge of the forces employed in his campaigns.[2] Apropos of certain chapters of the *Annals* (14. 31–9), Tacitus has been called the 'most unmilitary of historians'.[3] In reality, he was not so much unmilitary as untechnical and anxious to omit detail which might confuse. In this point the rhetorical character of the *Agricola* comes out clearly. Throughout, its author endeavours to use easily apprehended generalities.[4] Nor, in the matter of geography and topography, was he altogether to blame. He wrote for men who knew nothing of Britain and

[1] See *Journ. Rom. Studies*, vi (1916), p. 200.

[2] [A special reason for the avoidance of all technical detail in the *Agricola* is its biographical character: the historical form of narrative employed in the body of the work is adapted to the purpose of biography. See Section III, especially p. xxvi ff.]

[3] Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* v. 165 (*Provinces*, i, p. 181).

[4] See note 2, above.

had no proper maps to consult, if confronted with strange place-names. Therefore he limited his geographical items to a bare minimum. It is not only that he told his readers next to nothing of the physical configuration of Britain, the distribution of hill and plain, marsh and forest, though these facts (as it happens) could have been summarized in literary fashion, briefly and untechnically, as indeed they have been summarized by Mr. Kipling. He also omits British place-names almost altogether. Inclusive of the names of islands and small districts, he mentions in the *Agricola* only eleven names in all, four of which are tribal names.[1] Plainly he attached little value to proper names as giving weight, dignity, and colour to a picturesque narrative, although Virgil had set him an example. With the fewness of British names in the *Agricola*, we may contrast the light-heartedness with which he cites the name of such an Italian hill-settlement as Intimilium (c. 7), which, small and remote as that place was, may have been well known to his readers.

This little group of names contains many puzzles. Four of the eleven names cannot be fixed with any certainty. Graupius mons, Tanaus (fluvius), portus Trucculensis are all doubtful, nor can the tribal name Boresti be located. For the topography of Roman Britain the *Agricola* is of little use. Its literary charm has made its hero's name famous in modern days in our island; in technical matters, like geography, it has led more seekers astray than it has guided aright. Its value lies elsewhere.

While, therefore, the student may feel that the *Agricola* ought to tell him much about Roman Britain, it is not surprising that actually it does not. A word may, however, be said here of points in which Tacitus may seem to have modified the current knowledge of his own time.

1. He claims for Agricola the credit of having first established the insular character of Britain (c. 10, 5).[2] The claim is

[1] Bodotria, 23, 25; Clota, 23; Graupius mons, 29; Mona, 14, 18; Orcades, 10; Tanaus, 22; portus Trucculensis, 38. The tribal names are Boresti, 38; Brigantes, 17, 31; Ordovices, 18; and Silures, 11, 17. Bodotria occurs in Ptolemy, with a different spelling, and possibly in Ravennas (see note, c. 23, 2); Mona in Pliny; the Orcades in Mela, Pliny, Juvenal, &c.; and the Brigantes in Juvenal. See the notes on the chapters cited, and below, Section VI (ii) and (iii).

[2] Cp. Dio, 66. 20, 2; 76. 12, 5.

perhaps excessive. All earlier writers—Caesar, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, &c.—affirm without hesitation that Britain is an island; the first three even give its shape as triangular,[1] and Strabo and Mela compare it with Sicily. The insularity of Ireland, too, seems to have been known or assumed when Caesar and Pliny wrote.[2] Mela, again, who wrote about the time of the Claudian conquest, knew of the Orkneys, which Agricola's fleet is said to have discovered, and of the Hebrides (Haemodae), which are mentioned also by Pliny (Hebudes) and later by others. The circumference of Britain had even been calculated by the early seaman Pytheas (Pliny, 4. 102), though his estimate is excessive, as well as by Caesar (*B. G.* 5. 13. 4), who put it at 2,000 miles. This latter figure makes a fair approach to accuracy, if we calculate, as a sailor might, from salient point to salient point, without following the windings of the coast minutely. Apparently, then, Agricola rather verified a generally existing belief than made a new discovery, when he 'proved Britain to be an island'.

2. Of the size of Britain Tacitus gives no precise account. Of its shape he speaks in a passage (c. 10) which is not quite clear, but which is intended to correct the views of Livy and Fabius Rusticus, the historian of Nero (and perhaps of Claudius). Fabius had likened Britain to a double battle-axe (shaped like two single axe-heads placed back to back), and Livy had apparently expressed an approximately similar view of its general configuration, based possibly on Agrippa's map of the world. Tacitus urges that the comparison is applicable only if Caledonia be left out, i. e. only as far as the isthmus between Forth and Clyde, but that north of the isthmus there is a huge, shapeless tract jutting out, which ultimately narrows like the tapering end of a wedge (notes on c. 10. 3-4). These two items, the isthmus and the shapelessness of the farther tract, presumably rest on the witness of Agricola.

3. He also sketches very well—no doubt using information gleaned from Agricola—the character of the lochs and valleys of

[1] So also Diodorus, 5. 21. 3, quoting from an old Greek source.

[2] Caesar, *B. G.* 5. 13. 2; Pliny, 4. 103. Pliny's *Natural History* was in the main complete just at the time when Agricola went out to govern Britain, but may have been added to by the author (who died in A. D. 79).

the Western Highlands, where the sea penetrates into the land and works round the hills, forcing its way between them (c. 10). Here we have clearly the statement of one who had seen the country.

In most other points Tacitus repeats his predecessors. He shares their error respecting the position of Britain relatively to Germany, Gaul, and Spain (c. 10), and he refers to them as having written on the oceanic tides. About such phenomena as tides, indeed, his scientific interest or knowledge was clearly below the standard of his own day, as is revealed by his theory of the *mare pigrum* near Thule (c. 10), his ignorance of the form of the earth, and his cumbrous explanation of the short summer nights of the north.

4. In regard to the climate of Britain, Tacitus, like Caesar, points out that the island was not very cold in winter, as had been stated by Diodorus Siculus.[1] He does not distinguish one part of Britain from another in respect of climate, and he writes rather vaguely, but his description (c. 12) of the plentiful British rains, and of the rank growth and slow ripening of the British crops, is doubtless true—perhaps truer than we, living in a well-drained and well-cleared England, can easily imagine. Here again, the evidence of an eye-witness is plain.

5. Of the minerals of Britain, Tacitus says little (see Appendix II, p. 173 ff.). This brevity contrasts markedly with a common modern view that a commercial desire for British tin and British lead prompted the Claudian invasion (p. xlv). Perhaps in a rhetorical treatise he was unlikely to enlarge on commercial considerations. It has been noticed, too, that whilst he mentions British pearls (c. 12, 6 and note), he is silent as to British oysters, although the Rutupian oysters (of Whitstable, Kent) were known when he wrote, and had been already mentioned by Pliny and by Juvenal.[2]

6. His ethnological statements are naturally defective.[3] But

[1] 5. 21, 6. Diodorus' whole description of Britain is drawn from some older Greek account.

[2] Plin. *N. H.* 9. 169; Juv. *Sat.* 4. 141. Pliny finished the *N. H.* about A. D. 77; Juvenal's Fourth Satire was written after the death of Domitian.

[3] [See the notes on c. 11. Reference may be made to Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain* (1880); Sir C. Elton, *Origins of English History* (1890); Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (fourth ed., 1908); and T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain* (1907).]

he recognizes distinctions of race between various British tribes. Before him only Caesar had done that. Caesar had stated that the inland tribes claimed to be autochthonous,[1] while Diodorus Siculus[2] had spoken of all the Britons as equally indigenous. But Caesar's strange reports as to the 'group-marriages' (if such they were) of the Britons are not repeated by Tacitus, nor does he help us to interpret this curious story. Respecting the British abstinence from hares and chickens, alleged by Caesar, Tacitus is equally silent.[3]

7. Nor again does he in the *Agricola* even refer to the Druids, though in his later account of the raid of Suetonius on Anglesey (*Annals* 14. 30) he mentions them. He was, however, well aware that the British worshipped much the same gods as their Celtic kinsfolk on the continent, and he knew (as did the Romans of his time generally) that the Britons were descended from immigrant Gauls who had crossed from the European mainland.

At the same time, while he knew much—as we should expect, seeing that his father-in-law spent seven full years in Britain, and was busy in all parts of it from the Channel to the Tay—yet his omissions are often puzzling. It is extraordinary that he could deal with the history of the province for seven years without once mentioning Londinium, then doubtless a not unimportant town and hardly an unfamiliar name to his readers, though it does not seem to have been mentioned by any earlier writer.[4]

This rather negative result is the more disappointing because it is plain that about the time when the *Agricola* was written considerable interest was taken at Rome in the island. Pliny, who completed his *Natural History* about A. D. 77, says much of Britain (4. 102 ff., &c.). He was aware that the Britons had

[1] *B. G.* 5. 12 [2] 5. 21. 5.

[3] Many recent writers think that Caesar's account of Britain in *B. G.* 5. 12 ff. is not really Caesar's work, but a later interpolation. [Cp. note on c. 10. 3. Dio, 76. 12 makes equally strange statements about community of wives and abstinence from fish among the Caledonians. It may be that some form of polyandry survived among some primitive communities in remote parts of the island.]

[4] The Samian potsherds found in London contain a distinct proportion of wares dating from the reigns of Claudius and Nero, and the town, while perhaps still comparatively small, cannot have been unimportant (*J. R. S.* i, pp. 146 ff.). The omission is repaired in the *Annals* (14. 33. 1), [and is best explained as due to the biographical character of the *Agricola*, which allows small space to geography.]

kinsmen on the European mainland; he was aware of British lead (for tin, see p. 179), of British oysters and pearls, of British coracles, covered with skin, and of various minor British customs (how the Britons wore their rings, &c.), which suggest that the activity of the Roman armies after A.D. 70 (c. 17) and the conquests of Cerialis awakened Roman interest in such matters. Juvenal, too, says so much of Britain—of the *castella Brigantum* (*Sat.* 14, 196), of the oysters (4, 141), the British whales (10, 14), the short summer nights (2, 161), and the like—that he has been thought to have served in Agricola's campaigns,[1] though his references can perhaps be better and more simply explained by the general contemporary interest in the subject. Tacitus, however, who was more anxious to emphasize the achievements of Agricola than those of his immediate predecessors, Cerialis and Frontinus, perhaps felt it superfluous to repeat what was already common knowledge, save where, as in regard to the long summer days, Agricola's northward advance had brought fuller light. Even in respect of such items, the historian's indifference to natural science, as understood in his own day, naturally led him to be brief and unsatisfactory. [F. H.]

SECTION VI

THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN

(i) THE CLAUDIAN INVASION

The position and geographical character of Britain connect it closely with the adjacent continent. It lies vis-à-vis to the mouths of the Rhine, the chief continental river of the west. Several of its main rivers flow into the sea opposite the larger

[1] Friedländer, *Juvenal*, vol. i, *Introd.* p. 17. [In the famous Juvenal inscr. (*CIL.* x. 5382, Dessau 2926), which rests on the copy made by Cayro about the turn of the eighteenth century, the first word of l. 3 is doubtful. If *trib.* is right, neither *i* nor *ii* can be inserted before *Delmatarum*, because these cohorts, 500 strong, were commanded by a *praefectus*. Cichorius would supply no number (for which there are parallels) and take the reference to be to one of the four cohorts, 1,000 strong, found in other provinces (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, iv. 283). In that case the evidence for Juvenal's residence in Britain would vanish. But *praef.* is a possible restoration: only the R appeared clear to Cayro, and the I is just as uncertain as the T and B.]

continental rivers; the mouth of the Thames and the harbour of London nearly face the estuaries of the Rhine and also of the Scheldt; the lowland area of Britain fills up the continental side of the island. Therefore it has always had a peculiar connexion with the mainland. It has always been easy to leave a continental harbour, to land in a British harbour, and thence to advance over the lowlands of the south east. Much of the earlier history of our island has consisted in such invasions. It was through this ease of access that the Gauls had reached Britain long before the Christian or the Roman era, and the connexion lasted; in Caesar's days (he tells us) the same princes ruled on both sides of the Channel.

The result was that the south of Britain became Celtic or Celticized, and the way was prepared for the absorption of Britain into the Empire. Caesar's two raids across the Channel in 55 and 54 B.C. produced little direct result (c. 13, 2, note). But his conquest of Gaul brought Roman civilization to the shores of the Channel. It speedily crossed. In the three generations which elapsed between these raids and the Claudian conquest, Italian civilization penetrated south-eastern Britain, and the Britons, like the Gauls of the continent, welcomed it.[1] A British gold coinage had been struck in many parts of the island long before the Roman period. Now some of the coins were even impressed with the legend 'rex', a word which cannot have been merely copied from any existing Roman coins, and which therefore indicates some faint understanding of Latin on the part of the Britons. Still more, Roman pottery began to be imported by traders and used by the Britons. Among the earlier Roman potsherds found at Silchester and those found in London are not a few (more in Silchester than in London) which came from the Arretine potteries in Etruria, and which can be dated to the last years of Augustus (that is, a whole generation earlier than the Claudian invasion) or to the first years of Tiberius. Scattered bits of the same ware and age have turned up elsewhere in the eastern counties and in the midlands, for instance, at Bicester near Oxford, and at Barrington near Cambridge.[2]

[1] It might be rash to speculate on the linguistic affinities of the Italian and Celtic groups of languages, as possibly corresponding to some racial affinities, which made the Celts easy to Romanize.

[2] See Haverfield's paper in the *Communications* of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, vol. xx (1917), pp. 53-9.

These pieces attest a diffusion of Italian products through the parts of our island which lie near to the continent, in years definitely earlier than the Claudian invasion. When, therefore, Claudius invaded Britain in A.D. 43, the Roman flag was following trade. Indeed, Strabo, writing about the time to which these potsherds belong (A.D. 10–15), states that the duties levied in Gaulish ports on goods crossing the Channel to and from Britain were a real source of revenue to the Roman Government.[1]

The reasons for the Claudian invasion in A.D. 43 are variously given by modern writers. Some suggest that the leading Roman statesmen of the time, who were mainly financiers, were attracted by the minerals of Britain (p. 173), and this view may be supported by the fact that the Romans were already exploiting the lead mines on Mendip in A.D. 49, six years after the invasion, as an inscription on a pig of Mendip lead testifies (*CIL.* vii. 1201). The minerals, however, seem hardly a sufficient reason for so large, costly, and difficult an undertaking. Mommsen[2] thinks that Britain threatened the peace of Gaul, but evidence is awanting that this danger was actually felt. Perhaps we may rather go back to the action of Gaius, who in A.D. 40, after making great preparations for an invasion of the island, paraded his troops on the shores of the Channel, apparently near Boulogne, and abandoned the enterprise.[3] Such an incident may have

[1] Strabo, 4. 5, 3, p. 200.

[2] *Provinces*, i, pp. 173-4.

[3] Cp. Suet. *Calig.*, 46; Dio, 59. 21 and 25. Cp. also *Agr.* c. 13, 4. [The ancients represented the action of Gaius as pure lunacy, but their whole account of his reign is deliberate caricature. A British chief Amminus (so on coins, Adminius in Suet. *Cal.* 44), a son of Cunobelin, who had been exiled by his father, fled with a small following and surrendered to Gaius, apparently at Boulogne. Thereupon Gaius was acclaimed 'Britannicus' and, treating the *deditio* as the surrender of the whole island, sent a magnificent dispatch to Rome. Then followed the parade of his troops. It will be noted that Tacitus attributes the abandonment of the enterprise to the emperor's 'natural fickleness'. In 39 the struggle between him and the Senate was approaching its climax, and one of his precautionary measures before leaving Rome was to deprive the proconsul of Africa of his military command (the change taking effect at the end of M. Silanus' period of office: Dio, 59. 20, 7; Tac. *Hist.* 4. 48). The discovery of the conspiracy of Gaetulicus, Lepidus, and the princesses Agrippina and Julia, in Oct. 39, greatly alarmed him, and perhaps the real reason for the abandonment of the invasion was the fear that further revolutionary movements might develop during what would necessarily be a prolonged absence from Rome (cp. Willrich in *Klio*, iii, p. 313 f.).]

unsettled minds in Britain, especially as the British prince Cunobelin, who had been friendly to Rome through many years, and who seems to have controlled the whole south of the island,[1] died in 41 or 42, and his death was followed by a struggle between his sons, the most vigorous of whom, Caratacus, speedily turned out a determined enemy of Rome.

The history of the invasion carried out by Claudius has been given in detail by Furneaux in the introduction to his edition of the *Annals* (vol. ii, pp. 129 ff.). Here it may suffice to say that the undertaking was well planned and that a strong force of men and of really competent officers was employed. This force started from Gaul in three corps (τριχῇ νεμηθέντες, Dio 60. 20) and probably landed in the three harbours later used by the Romans in east Kent—Dover, Lymne and Richborough—the last named (Rutupiae) being the principal port for Channel passengers to and from Britain throughout the Roman period.[2] The army consisted of four legions, with a detachment from a fifth (below, p. lxxiv). If we may suppose that with the legions went, as usual, a roughly equal force of *auxilia*, we may put the strength of the invading army at about 40,000: this estimate agrees fairly well with what we know of the general military occupation of Britain. An experienced officer, Aulus Plautius (consul in A.D. 29), was brought from Pannonia to command the force (p. 79, note). He advanced westwards, probably traversing the lowlands of north Kent, where the Roman road from Dover to London afterwards ran. Soon he forced the crossing of a difficult river, probably the Medway at Rochester, and reached the south bank of the Thames at a point where it could be crossed, near London. Here he halted for Claudius to come up and take the credit for further success. The Thames was then crossed, as it seems, with little difficulty, and the army marched on its real objective, the native capital of Cunobelin's kingdom, at or close to Camulodunum, now Colchester, near the Essex coast.[3] This, too, was taken, and Claudius returned to Rome,

[1] Suetonius, *Calig.* 44. 2, calls him *Britannorum rex*. His coins tell a similar tale.

[2] The site of the harbour is now marshland lying two miles from the sea: the foundations of a *pharos* which guided ships into it still exist on the hill at Richborough. Cp. *Class. Rev.* xxi (1907), p. 105.

[3] It is not certain whether the British town was on exactly the same site as the Roman, or a few miles away at Lexden. The finds at Colchester rather suggest the latter alternative.

having spent, we are told, sixteen days in Britain. The whole expedition seems to have been carried out with an admirable speed and precision of movement.

From the base of London and Colchester the further conquest of the island seems to have been carried on, still in three corps. The left wing (Legio II Augusta, under Vespasian) overran the south, as far, probably, as Exeter and South Wales.[1] The centre—Legions XIV and XX—crossed the midlands, north-west to Wroxeter and Chester.[2] The right wing, Legio IX, moved northwards to Lincoln.[3] These lines of advance led direct to the fortresses where the legions were presently stationed. They agree also with the three main groups of later Roman roads, which radiate from London, and suggest that these roads were now laid out, viz., (1) the south-west route, running to Silchester, and thence branching to Winchester, Dorchester, and Exeter, and to Bath and South Wales; (2) the north-west route across the Midlands, by Watling street, through St. Albans to Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury, and thence to Chester; (3) the eastern route, through Colchester, Cambridge and Castor, near Peterborough, to Lincoln. In any case there is little doubt that before A.D. 49 or 50 the Roman arms had reached the basins of the Trent, the Severn, and even the Dee.[4] [F. H.]

(ii) THE OCCUPATION OF WALES, NORTH ENGLAND, AND SOUTHERN SCOTLAND

The Roman invasion had moved swiftly over the English lowlands, which (despite the theories of J. R. Green) offered few great physical obstacles such as would delay or divert the

[1] Cp. Suet. *Vesp.* 4; Tac. *Agr.* 13; *Hist.* 3. 44; tile of Legio II Aug. at Seaton (Moridunum?), *Arch. Journ.* xlix. 180, *Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1268a.

[2] Inscrr. of Leg. XIV, probably of Claudius' reign, at Wroxeter, *CIL.* vii. 154–5; see *Vict. Hist. Shropshire*, i, p. 243 f. Tile of Leg. XX at Whittlebury, Northants, on the road to Wroxeter, *Eph. Epigr.* iii, p. 142; *Vict. Hist. Northants*, i, p. 215. See also below, p. lxxviii f.

[3] Tile at Hilly Wood, Northants, on the road to Lincoln, *Eph. Epigr.* iii, p. 142; *Vict. Hist. Northants*, i, p. 214. Also below, p. lxxviii.

[4] This is clear from the fact that the second governor, Ostorius (A. D. 47–52), had very soon to deal (as Tacitus records under A. D. 50, *Ann.* 12. 31–2) with the Iceni of Norfolk, the Brigantes north of the Trent, the Decangi of Flintshire, and the Silures of Monmouthshire. In *Ann.* 12. 31, 2 the MS. reading *cunctaque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat* should probably be emended *cunctaque cis Trisantonam* (i. e. the Trent), &c.

march of ancient armies. The Romans had reached strategic points in west and east, the estuaries of the Severn, the Dee, and the Humber.[1] Here there was a long pause. They were now faced on the west by the hills of Wales, on the north by those of Derbyshire and northern England. These hills delayed progress for nearly a generation. They were not the only obstacles. Time was needed to absorb the lowland area, and in particular to take in the protectorates which here, as everywhere, were used as stepping stones to annexation. Nero, too, was not an emperor to trouble about Britain, and his ministers had their hands full in the East. The lax control of the central government bred increasing misrule, till the great rising under Boudicca (Boadicea) in A. D. 61 shook the fabric of Roman dominion in the island. The subsidence of this upheaval, under two years of gentle rule, was followed by a period of easy going inefficiency till Nero fell, and the great crisis of the Empire, the civil war of A. D. 69, was over. At the end of Nero's reign the Roman boundaries hardly varied from what they had been at the beginning. The western limit ran a little to the west of a line drawn from Newport through Shrewsbury to Chester, and the northern not far north of a line through Chester, Derby, and Lincoln.

Vigour was restored to the Imperial administration by the new dynasty founded by Vespasian, and progress was resumed. *Magni duces*, says Tacitus, *egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes* (c. 17). In seven years (71–7) the Roman arms had penetrated the Derbyshire hills and passed the latitude of York; in the west more than half of Wales was subdued; and over the conquered lands was spread a network of roads and forts. Then Agricola assumed command. He completed the conquest of Wales (c. 18), and completed it so thoroughly that we hear no more of fighting there, and soon the garrisons of the Welsh forts could be transferred to the still unconquered north.[2] Either he or, more probably, his predecessor Frontinus planted the Roman arms at York, fortress of the Ninth and later of the Sixth Legion. He also probably developed the fortress of the Twentieth Legion at Chester[3], which commanded

[1] Cp. Mommsen, *Prov.* i. p. 176.

[2] See Haverfield, *Military Aspects of Roman Wales*, pp. 58, &c.

[3] From its western walls the XXth Legion at Chester looked straight across the Saltney Levels to the hills of Flintshire and Denbighshire. The fortress of Chester was probably established by A. D. 50, or perhaps earlier.

the gate into north-eastern Wales, and an access to the Irish Sea.[1] After this the advance moved on two lines which may be called respectively the east- and west-coast routes, and which are still visible in certain modern roadways and vestiges of Roman road-building. Although it cannot be proved that these roads then existed in the precise form in which we know them, there can be little doubt that they follow the lines which Agricola must have followed, and can be shown to have followed, in his march to the north.

(i) The western route started from Chester, and ran northwards through the Lancashire lowlands, and then along the eastern side of the Cumbrian hills, taking somewhat the same line as the present L. and N. W. Railway between Lancaster and Carlisle. From Carlisle a road still traceable at certain points, and believed to have been Roman, ran on north-westwards through Annandale and Clydesdale into Scotland, taking much the same course as the Caledonian Railway from Carlisle to Glasgow. Road and railway diverge near Moffat, where both have to climb the hills separating Dumfriesshire from Lanarkshire; from Moffat the line of the road is plain for some distance and then the trail vanishes till Carstairs is reached; from Carstairs the road probably passed on to the district where Glasgow now stands.

(ii) The eastern route started from York, and ran north through the Vale of York; then, crossing the Tees near Darlington (Roman fort at Pierce Bridge), it continued by three other forts (at Binchester, Lanchester, and Ebchester) to Corbridge-on-Tyne, three miles east of Hexham. At Corbridge was a substantial Roman bridge, and close to it a large Roman post, which was undoubtedly occupied in some fashion

[1] While sea-going ships were small, Chester counted as a seaport; its 'custom-house' can still be seen. Both in Roman times and in the Middle Ages there was direct trade (chiefly in wine) between Chester and Atlantic ports in Gaul. See H. Zimmer's *Direkte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland im Altertum*, in *Sitzungsber. der kgl. pr. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1909, pp. 363-400, 430, 543; and compare for mediaeval evidence 'Luciani de laude Cestrie', ed. Miss M. V. Taylor, 1912, pp. 23, 46. Zimmer was mainly anxious to prove direct Roman intercourse between Roman Gaul and Ireland, and rather neglected the trade between West England and Gaul. An interesting inscription of A. D. 237 (*Rev. Ét. Anciennes*, 1922, pp. 236 ff.) was discovered at Bordeaux in 1921, commemorating the erection of an altar to Dea Tutela Boudig(a) by a sevir Augustalis of York and Lincoln, in fulfilment of a vow made on setting out from York for Bordeaux. He was evidently a *negotiator*.

in the days of Agricola, and in the second century was rather a dépot for stores than an ordinary fort or fortress. From Corbridge the route led on through what is now Northumberland, past forts at Woodburn and High Rochester (near Otterburn), following the valley of Redesdale. Passing the Roman



'camps' at Chew Green and mounting Cheviot, it speedily entered Scotland, and descended into the basin of the Teviot; skirting Jedburgh, it reached the Tweed at Newstead, just east of Melrose (fort of Trimontium). Hence it ran up Lauderdale and across the Lammermuir hills, and descended to the Forth a trifle east of Edinburgh (fort at Inveresk).

On the western route Carlisle (Luguvallium) seems to have been reached by the Romans as early as Agricola.[1] The southern portion of the east-coast route is still better attested as Agricolan. Corbridge had unquestionably been occupied in his time, and the road 'Dere-street' from York through Pierce Bridge to Corbridge must have been made either by or before him, though some of the forts along it may have been added at a later date.[2]

Passing to the sections of these two routes which lie north of Tyne and Solway, we find our evidence to be good only for the eastern road. Here excavation has shown that the small fort at Cappuck, three miles east of Jedburgh,[3] and the much larger fort of Trimontium, near Newstead on the Tweed,[4] were both occupied under and after Agricola, as well as in the period following the re-conquest of southern Scotland by Pius. But the date when the western road was constructed from Carlisle towards the site of Glasgow is wholly uncertain. Nor, indeed, is it certain that there was direct communication between those two points in the Roman period. If there was, the road must have been guarded, like the eastern route, by permanent military posts (*castella*) placed at intervals along it. No such posts have been found except at the extreme ends. At the southern end lay the fort of Blatobulgium (so the name is best spelt) at Birrens, near Ecclefechan, sixteen miles north-west of Carlisle. Established in the second century, probably as an outlier of Hadrian's Wall from Tyne to Solway, it was destroyed by the Brigantes after A. D. 150 (cp. Pausan. 8. 43, 4) and rebuilt in A. D. 158.[5] Three or four miles north-west of it

[1] Haverfield and Atkinson in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeol. Soc.* xvii (1917), pp. 235-50. Evidence has also been found in the small Roman fort of Borrans at the north end of Windermere (*ibid.* xiv. 459, xv, xvi, xxi which shows that in the Agricolan age the Romans were occupying permanent posts in the recesses of the Lake Hills. The fort at Hardknot between Borrans and Ravenglass (*ibid.* xxi, p. 29 ff.) very probably belongs to the same date, and so the steep mountain trail from Hardknot over the Wrynose Pass to Windermere must have been already in use. See further p. lv, note 3.

[2] For Agricolan remains at Corbridge see *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 1909, p. 410; 1910, p. 227, &c.

[3] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xlvi (1911–12), p. 446 ff.

[4] Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post*, 1911.

[5] See Dr. George Macdonald in *Trans. Dumfries. Antiq. Soc.* 3rd Ser. viii (1920–21).

on the high top of Burnswork (or Birrenswark) is a remarkable hill fort, excavated—not very successfully—in 1898 (fig. 1). On the northern and southern slopes are two large earth enclosures, while round the base of the hill run portions of a line of earthworks, which have been interpreted as 'lines of

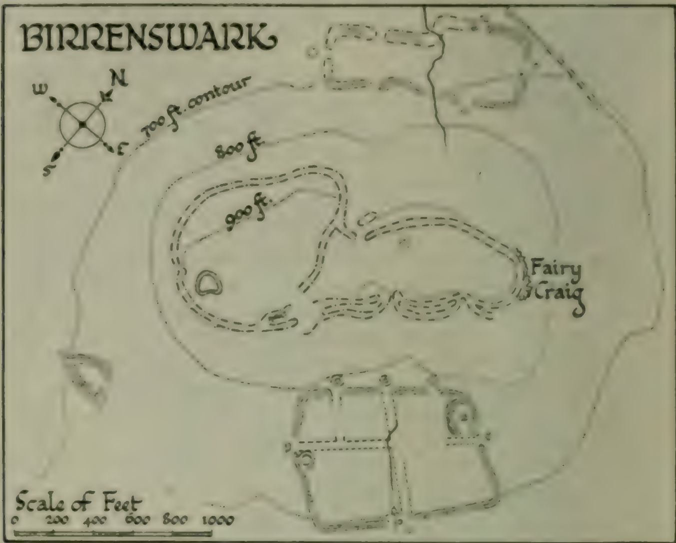


FIG. 1. Plan of the Birrenswark fort and camps.

circumvallation', faintly recalling Caesar's works round Alesia, and supposed to have been thrown up by Romans besieging a native stronghold (probably in Agricola's time). The theory of circumvallation is beset with difficulties,[1] but the association of the large camps with Agricola is fairly well established by

[1] See Macdonald's full account and criticisms in the Seventh Report of the *Histor. Monuments Scotland Commission*, 1920, p. 94 ff. The siege theory has recently been supported by Dr. A. Schulten in a paper entitled *Birrenswark: ein britannisches Numantia* (*Neue Jahrb. f. das klass. Altertum*, xxxiv (1914), p. 607 ff.), which was unfortunately written without due knowledge of what others had done before him or due regard for ascertained facts. Cp. Haverfield, *Rom. Britain in 1914* (*Brit. Acad. Suppl. Papers*), pp. 61-3. Further use of the spade is required here.

the discovery of sixty-seven acorn-shaped sling-bullets of lead (*glandes*, fig. 2), a type of missile which the Romans replaced by bullets of stone about the end of the first century of our era. These *glandes* were found both in the southern camp and near the top of the hill, and some of them show clear traces of impact.

North of Birrens evidence is scantier for a long distance. A road, which is possibly Roman, can be traced among the hills west of Hart Fell, from Moffat to Elvanfoot, near Beattock Summit. The only remains, however, known in this section are two large earth-walled camps (on Torwood Moor, near Lockerbie, and



FIG. 2. Leaden sling-bullets from Birrenswark.

at Tassiesholm, some fourteen miles farther north) which appear to be of Roman origin but to have been intended for the accommodation of armies marching through the hills, not for permanent garrisons. The first permanent post that has been noted lies on the north slope of the hills. Fifty miles from Birrens, at Castledykes, three-quarters of a mile from Carstairs on the Clyde, there are remains of a Roman fort, of which we can only say that the evidence of coins proves it to have been occupied during the middle second century, and suggests the possibility of an earlier occupation.[1] But this *castellum* does not prove direct communication with Birrens. Six or seven miles to the east of Castledykes there is a fort at Lyne, near Peebles, which also appears to belong to the second century, and indicates a connexion between the eastern trunk

[1] See Macdonald, 'Rom. coins found in Scotland', in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1917–18, p. 219 f.

road and Castledykes along the valleys of the Tweed and Biggar Water.[1] On our present evidence then, the existence of a road through Annandale and Clydesdale in the Roman period, attractive as it may seem, has not yet been proved.[2]

These are the routes which an army leader proceeding to the conquest of the north must follow. The spade has revealed traces of the Agricolan period at various strategic points along their course. How far is it possible to trace the extent to which Agricola used each of them in his successive campaigns? Tacitus' narrative is vague to the last degree. Even in his historical works—at least in the *Annals*—the vagueness of his military narratives is very marked (p. xxxviii); in the *Agricola*, where his purpose is primarily and professedly biographical, this characteristic is still more pronounced,[3] and nearly half of the space allotted to his hero's seven years' work is occupied with the description of a single battle and the speeches preceding it, leaving for the rest a meagre outline which omits almost all precise details. And, most unfortunately, the first locality named in the advance northwards (the estuary of the Tanaus) is one that cannot be fixed with any certainty (see below, p. lvi). Yet the cumulative effect of various indications, over and above those directly given by the narrative, seems now strong enough to enable us to trace his movements with very fair probability on the whole.

The remarkable rapidity of Agricola's conquests was made possible by the work of his two predecessors, Cerialis (A.D. 71–4) and Frontinus (74–77/8). Evidently Cerialis, under whom Agricola served as *legatus* of the Twentieth Legion (c. 8), had battered the confederacy of the Brigantes, which extended over north England from sea to sea as far, apparently, as the basin of the river Tyne, and possibly a little farther.[4] *Magnam Brigantum partem*, says Tacitus, *aut victoria amplexus est aut bello*: the range of his operations covered a great part of their territory, which was either permanently conquered or overrun. His annexations evidently extended some distance at least, and

[1] Cp. Macdonald, *ibid.*, p. 216, and *Trans. Dumfries. Soc.*, loc. cit.

[2] Of the roads connecting the eastern and western routes, those from York to Chester and from Corbridge to Carlisle were in all probability coeval with Agricola (below, p. lvi, n. 2, and p. lv, n. 3); that from Cataractonium (Catterick Bridge) to Brocavum (Brougham Castle) may belong to the Agricolan age, but there is no proof as yet.

[3] See above, pp. xxvi, xxxviii.

[4] Cp. note on c. 17, 2.

probably some considerable distance, north of York; and the legionary fortress there must have been established soon afterwards, if not by Cerialis himself, then by his successor.[1] Frontinus had broken down the stubborn resistance of Wales so thoroughly that Agricola could complete the conquest by one swift blow, delivered late in the season, and pass on to the reduction of Anglesey. For this short campaign his base was obviously Chester. From there he would naturally start in the following spring,[2] and the mention of *aestuaria* (c. 20) indicates, not obscurely, a northward advance past the estuaries of Lancashire and Cumberland to Carlisle, which has yielded some remains of the Agricolan period (p. li). The forts (*castella*) with which the conquered tribes were surrounded doubtless included those in the district round Carlisle whose remains assign their foundation to this time.[3]

Further advance in this direction was far from easy. Between the Esk and the Annan lay dangerous bogs and moss-hags, which even in the Middle Ages men avoided by crossing the fords of the Solway estuary;[4] and beyond lay the difficult mountain country of Dumfries and Selkirk with its moors and fells and forests, most easily dealt with by a wide turning movement. The extreme rarity of any early remains along this section of the western route would in itself forbid the supposition that Agricola's further advance followed this line,

[1] Lincoln became a *colonia* in Vespasian's reign, after the Ninth Legion had been moved forward to York (see note, p. xxxvii).

[2] The date would be A.D. 78 or 79, according as the campaigns started in 77 or 78 (see Appendix I). To 79 belongs the Chester inscription (quoted in the last note of the commentary), which indicates reparations or extensions of the legionary fortress.

[3] Borrans and Hardknot (p. li, note) may be regarded as dating from Agricola. Papcastle (Aballaba) probably belongs to the Agricolan age (cp. *Cumb. and West. Trans., N. S.*, xiii. 131, xiv. 456). Very slight evidence of the same period has been picked up at Watercrook and Ravenglass (*ibid.* xxi. 42). The 'Stanegate' road between Carlisle and Corbridge in all probability dates from Agricola (*ibid.* xi. 390–2, xiii. 381 ff.): the fort at Nether Denton is dated to A.D. 79, or soon after, by F. G. Simpson (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 1921, p. 135), and those at Throp and Haltwhistle Burn go back to *circa* A.D. 110 (*C. and W. Trans.* xiii. 363 ff., *Archaeol. Aeliana, N. S.*, v. 213 ff.). It is clear that a network of forts was established in the Agricolan age between Preston and Carlisle, but on most sites no search has yet been made for evidence: cp. R. G. Collingwood in *Archaeologia*, 71 (1921).

[4] *Scott. Hist. Rev.* xviii, p. 80 f.; *J. R. S.* 1919, p. 135.

and it will presently be seen that he obtained no hold here.[1] Even if conditions had been more favourable, an advance into Scotland would be out of the question until all the country east of the Pennine chain was reduced and held securely.

Accordingly in his third campaign (c. 22) Agricola appears to have transferred his base to York[2] and to have advanced northwards by the easier eastern route through Binchester, Lanchester, Ebchester, and Corbridge-on-Tyne. He overran the country as far as the estuary of the Tanaus, a Celtic name derived from *tan*, 'running water'. There are no real estuaries[3] along the east coast until the Forth is reached, but the term might be applied to such a river mouth as that of the Tyne, and more loosely, perhaps, to some others. The Tyne seems to be hardly far enough north, if it is possible to draw any precise inference from the narrative of the next year, when the Forth-Clyde isthmus appears to be reached almost without effort; but that narrative is so extremely brief that only two salient facts are mentioned, and it may be that a considerable advance lies concealed in the words 'and if the valour of Roman armies and the renown of Rome's name had permitted it, a limit would have been found within Britain itself'.

The Tanaus has also been identified with the Tweed, and with the Scottish Tyne, which reaches the sea near Dunbar;[4] but from somewhere north of York to Dunbar is a far cry for a single season's campaign, unless indeed Agricola's predecessors carried the conquest of the Brigantes a long way north of York. Others have adopted the marginal reading *ad Taum* and identified Taus with the Tava, Ptolemy's name for the river Tay; but an advance to the Tay is wholly out of the question: it was certainly not reached before the sixth, and probably not till the seventh, campaign. While, therefore, certainty is unattainable about the limit of this year's advance, it is evident that Agricola met with feeble resistance: he had

[1] Cp. Macdonald, *J. R. S.*, 1910, p. 134.

[2] The forts at Castleshaw and Slack (Cambodunum) on the road from Chester to York both belong in all probability to the first century. For the former see Second Interim Report, 1911, and for the latter *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxvi. Ilkley also is Agricolan.

[3] It is possible that the parenthesis *aestuario nomen est* is not genuine. See note on c. 22, 1.

[4] The river mouth is hardly an estuary, but forms a land-locked harbour navigable for two miles.

ample time to plant forts (such as Corbridge) along the road and to provision them with a year's reserve supplies.[1]

The fourth season (c. 23) was spent in securing the country overrun in the previous year and in reaching the Forth–Clyde isthmus and establishing a chain of forts along it. The narrative of Tacitus implies that the fortification was intended, not to create a permanent frontier-barrier, but to facilitate the task of obtaining a firm hold on the southern districts and thereby to pave the way for a fresh advance; and in fact the forts were apparently evacuated as soon as the advance was resumed (see below, pp. lxi, lxxii f.).

The fifth campaign is shrouded in obscurity. It began with a crossing by sea, clearly some part of the western sea, and resulted in the 'subjugation' of 'hitherto unknown tribes after several successful battles' (c. 24). The text here is probably defective, though it may be doubted whether the description has lost much in precision thereby. The tribes were doubtless Scottish,[2] and a literal and strict interpretation of Tacitus' words would suggest that the starting-point was the last locality named, viz. the Forth–Clyde isthmus. Hence it has been supposed that 'a reconnaissance in some force was made across the Firth of Clyde to Bute and Argyllshire, and that after some slight progress—there is no need to press *domuit* here, any more than in c. 10—Agricola saw the impracticability of making such a country a theatre of war, and withdrew with the intention of penetrating Caledonia from the Forth. On such a tentative expedition a biographer would naturally say little'.[3] There is small probability in this view. It is much more likely that the starting-point was not the isthmus at all, but either headquarters[4] at Chester or some point on the Chester–Carlisle line. Agricola's plan may well have been to attempt to lay hold on the south-west region of Scotland, over which he had not yet secured, and never was to secure, any hold.[5] To avoid the difficult country beyond Carlisle (p. lv), he would cross the Solway Firth to Dumfries, and it may have

[1] See note on *annuae copiae*, c. 22, 2.

[2] On the supposition that they were Irish, cp. below, p. lix.

[3] Furneaux, ed. i, p. 46.

[4] Cp. note on c. 22, 4 (*intercepit*).

[5] Probably no hold over the wild region of Gallòway was ever secured by the Romans; cp. Macdonald in *J. R. S.* 1919, p. 135. Tacitus' statement in c. 23, *omnis proprior sinus tenebatur*, is either misconception or rhetoric: it was true only of the eastern part of Southern Scotland.

been to this time that the earth-walled camps on either side of the native hill-fort of Birrenswark and the bullets belong (above, p. lii f.). A further trace of Agricola's operations in this region is possibly to be found in a little fort in the upper valley of the river Esk, at Raeburnfoot in Eskdalemuir.[1]

This view has the advantage of enabling us to connect this expedition, as the Latin suggests, with Tacitus' next statement that Agricola placed troops on the coast facing Ireland (*eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit*), with a view to a possible invasion of that island in the future. These arrangements were evidently of more than a temporary character. The locality referred to is not that which might naturally occur to the reader, Wigtown and Galloway, which is excluded not only by the absence of any trace of Roman forts, but also by the extreme rarity even of small Roman objects there.[2] It is rather the Cumberland coast (Maryport) or possibly North Wales;[3] in the *Annals* Tacitus applies the same phrase to the sea off Flintshire, *mare quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat*.[4] In placing troops along the coast Agricola is said to have had in view an invasion of Ireland rather than to have been moved by fear. The words are significant. They suggest that the influx of Irish elements into Britain was already beginning, and it may reasonably be inferred that the presence of the Romans in north Britain would excite speculation and apprehension in the neighbouring island. Irish tradition attests such movements from the later second century onwards, and it is probable (as Dr. Macdonald suggests)[5] that the immigrants took an active part in the fierce risings that

[1] Macdonald and others have pointed out the remarkable resemblance in design between the entrenchments at Raeburnfoot and those at Castleshaw above Oldham, guarding a pass across the Pennine chain. In both cases we have a double enclosure, a fort as it were within a fort, and the pottery, coins, &c., found at Castleshaw all suggest an occupation from about A. D. 80 to about A. D. 120 (*Trans. Dumfries Ant. Soc.*, 1920-21, *Hist. Mon. Commission*, 1920, p. 68 ff.).

[2] Haverfield, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxviii (1913), p. 7, note. Cp. above pp. lv. lvii, note 5.

[3] As Haverfield long ago suggested, *Cl. Rev.* ix. 311; cp *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, l. c.

[4] *Ann.* 12. 32. 3.

[5] His view will be stated in his forthcoming Bedford College lectures. In an article on the 'Picts in Scotland' (reprinted from the *Inverness Courier*, 1921) some facts relating to Irish migrations are given by Prof. W. J. Watson of Edinburgh, who has supplied me with some further notes.

vexed the Romans from the end of Trajan's reign. Migrations of princes or nobles imperilled by internal disorders were of frequent occurrence: the *regulus* who took refuge with Agricola was not the first nor the last of his class, and such refugees were accompanied by a body of followers who usually took up military service in Britain, though Tacitus gives no hint of an attendant train.[1] Agricola's protégé doubtless desired to be reinstated, but his wish was not gratified. The view that an invasion of Ireland actually took place and failed, hardly needs discussion.[2] It is based on the frailest foundation of linguistic arguments and has won no acceptance. Certainly, as Furneaux observed, no sufficient motive can be imagined 'which could have led Tacitus to treat such an event so cursorily and not to help his readers by a single word to gather that Ireland had ever actually been reached'. There is in fact not a word to suggest an invasion of Ireland; on the contrary, on such a presupposition the narrative is hardly intelligible, and the idea derives no support from archaeological evidence. Of the exceedingly few Roman remains found in Ireland (almost entirely on or near the north-east coast) only one, a coin of Nero, could possibly be referred to Agricola's time. The others, which are nearly all coins and include no pottery, belong chiefly, so far as they can be dated, to the fourth century of our era.[3] Neither Roman civilization nor even Roman trade ever really penetrated Ireland.

The two remaining campaigns of Agricola beyond the Forth, the direction of which can be traced with the aid of physical geography and archaeological remains, are fully dealt with in the next section.

[1] An instance from the early first century of refugee princes taking up military service under the King of Alba may be found in Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. 74; cp. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königssage*, p. 325. For the circumstances under which Agricola's *regulus* may have fled to Britain, see note on c. 24, 3.

[2] The theory was started by Pfitzner in a pamphlet entitled *Ist Irland jemals von einem röm. Heere betreten worden?* (Neustrelitz, 1893); cp. *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 153 (1896), p. 560 ff. Gudeman still maintained it in his German edition, 1902. A long controversy between him and Haverfield may be found in *Class. Rev.* ix, xi, xiii, and xiv. Prof. McElderry (*ibid.*, xviii, p. 460) supposes that the conquest of Ireland was planned and a reconnaissance in force was made by Agricola, but that the project was given up by Domitian when he succeeded Titus in A. D. 81.

[3] Haverfield in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s. v. 'Hibernia', and *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxviii, pp. 1–12.

iii) AGRICOLA IN CENTRAL SCOTLAND

Clota et Bodotria angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur (c. 23).

Amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas (c. 25).

The island of Great Britain at two points in its length—between Newcastle-on-Tyne and Carlisle, and again between Edinburgh and Glasgow—contracts to a comparatively narrow width, which is often called an isthmus. The term is not well chosen for either case. But it has been adopted by many writers, and some term or other is needed to mark these two contractions of the island's width, which have often been, and must always be, important. At both points, alike (i) between Tyne and Solway, and (ii) between Forth and Clyde, there is a direct and easy passage across Britain from sea to sea, and at each point the passage affects the climate of the neighbourhood.

(i) From Newcastle it is easy to mount the Tyne valley—in general open, and often flat-bottomed—to Greenhead (forty-five miles), to cross the low watershed between Greenhead and Gilsland (Rose Hill) into Cumberland, and thence to descend to the lowlands of Carlisle and the sands of Solway. This passage, some seventy miles long from sea to sea, is called by geographers the 'Tyne Gap'. It is a narrow passage, and hardly makes a real 'gap' in the hills which it threads; yet historically it has often counted for much; in some measure it even affects the climate of northern England.[1] To-day it connects the industrial districts of west Cumberland with Tyneside. In early days it served other purposes; it was long the north-western edge of the Roman Empire and the limit in this direction of the then civilized world.

(ii) The northern isthmus, Forth-Clyde, is more notable. It is barely half as long as the other—from Bo'ness on the Forth to the Clyde a little below Glasgow is, in a straight line, hardly thirty-five miles—and by road or railway the passage from tideway to tideway is fairly straight and involves a very slight climb. But this Midland valley of Scotland, or 'Rift Valley'

[1] Scott and Gaster, *Quarterly Journal of Meteorol. Soc.* xxiii (1897); Sir H. J. Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas*, pp. 167–8.

(as geographers oddly call it), though short, is wide. At its eastern end it spreads from the Pentlands south of Edinburgh to the Ochils and to Fife (twenty-five miles, north to south), and that is its general width.

It has always been important. Like the Tyne gap, it was for a while (A.D. 140–80) the north-western limit of the Roman Empire; like the Tyne gap, too, it affects the climate of the



east coast.[1] It first came into Roman history when, in A.D. 80 or 81, it was seized by Agricola, and by him garrisoned with a row of forts (c. 23). These forts were soon abandoned, not (as has hitherto been supposed) shortly after the recall of Agricola, but apparently as soon as his advance beyond the isthmus into Caledonia began; later, all his Scottish conquests were lost, probably in the great upheaval which marked the close of Trajan's reign. But after the lapse of about twenty

[1] See preceding note.

years[1] the Roman frontier was again pushed forward to this line, and in A.D. 142 the Emperor Pius built from sea to sea a continuous frontier wall, defended by about nineteen forts, disposed along it, on an average, about two miles apart. The Wall itself is not a stone wall but (in ancient phrase[2]) a *murus*



FIG. 3. Portion of the turf wall built by the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

caespiticius, built of sods of turf, stripped off the surface close by and laid in regular courses; these can still be more or less distinguished by excavation (fig. 3). The forts along the Wall were ordinary Roman *castella*, walled for the most part with earthen ramparts, but sometimes with stone. A deep and broad ditch ran in front of the Wall from end to end; a military road ran behind, and provided communication along its south side.[3]

[1] See below, p. lxxii f. Prof. Haverfield had verbally expressed his general concurrence with this view, but his MS. reproduced the older theory that the forts were abandoned soon after Agricola's recall.

[2] Capitolinus in the life of Pius, c. 5: *alio muro cespiticio summotis barbaris ducto*. But in inscriptions its actual builders call it *vallum*.

[3] See the admirable account of the Wall by Dr. Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1911). He has since cleared up a few doubtful points by successful excavation.

This barrier runs along the south side of the valley between Forth and Clyde, and its course is very skilfully planned; it almost always commands lower ground to the north of it.[1] It was held by Roman troops till A.D. 180, about which year the Romans withdrew from all land north of Cheviot.[2]

Mommsen, indeed, writing much earlier,[3] held that the Scottish wall of Pius was still in Roman hands when the Emperor Severus invaded Caledonia (A.D. 208–11). But the datable finds in Roman Scotland (mostly coins) show that Rome withdrew in or soon after A.D. 180, and never regained the district. Since 1899 this view has been generally accepted by English and foreign scholars.

The line of forts which (as Tacitus tells us, c. 23) Agricola built from Forth to Clyde, agrees closely with the line of wall and forts constructed by Pius in A.D. 142. In not a few cases the forts of Pius were planted on spots already selected by Agricola; they were much larger, and presumably more heavily garrisoned, than his.[4]

The sites of forts which have yielded probable or certain vestiges of Agricola[5] are these:—

(i) Cadder, about five miles north of the centre of Glasgow,

[1] Military experts declare that its line is far better chosen than the line of Hadrian's Wall from Tyne to Solway, though in point of scenery this latter is much more striking.

[2] Haverfield in the *Antonine Wall Report* of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, pp. 157 ff. More recent inquiries made by Dr. Macdonald have added to his figures, and have greatly strengthened the proof that the Romans evacuated their positions north of Cheviot about A.D. 180. See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, 1917–18, pp. 203–76.

[3] *Röm. Gesch.* v, p. 170; Eng. Tr., *Provinces*, i, p. 187.

[4] Doubtless each fort had, as garrison, an auxiliary cohort or *ala*. Such unit would be either 500 or 1,000 strong. Once or twice (e. g. *CIL.* vii, 1096) inscriptions record that this or that cohort on the line was 1,000 men strong. In other cases it is safe to assume from their silence that it was 500 strong; and the sizes of the Scottish forts suggest that this was a usual figure. (The total garrison of the whole line, as established by Pius, may then have reached something like 10,000 fighting men, mainly infantry.) Inscriptions also mention *vexillationes*, detachments from the British legions; but these did not form part of the permanent garrisons; they were rather employed while the forts and Wall were being built.

[5] When Furneaux published his commentary in 1898, no single Scottish site was known which could be confidently identified as having been held or fortified by Agricola. The improvement of our knowledge is due to the series of excavations conducted since 1896 by the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.

has yielded an inscription[1] of a soldier, L. Tanicius Verus, which seems to be of Agricolan date. One L. Tanicius Verus (presumably the same man) was stationed in upper Egypt, and

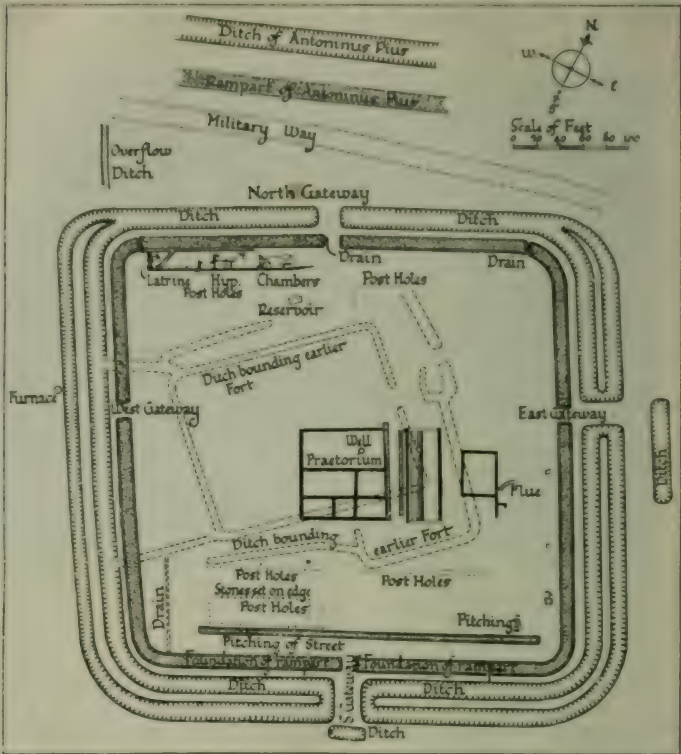


FIG. 4. Plan of the fort at Bar Hill, showing the underlying fort of Agricola.

'heard Memnon', and indeed heard it often, in A.D. 80–81 (*CIL.* iii. 34). Tanicius, an exceedingly rare *nomen*, hardly occurs elsewhere; as the *cognomen* attached to it, Verus, is the same in

[1] *CIL.* vii. 1124, cp. *Eph. Epigr.* ix. p. 627, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1917–18, p. 178. On Cadder, Macdonald, *Rom. Wall*, p. 168 ff., and *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1914–15, p. 113.

Scotland and in Egypt, the argument for identifying the men (and so dating the inscription) is not weak. Tanicius was probably transferred from Egypt to Britain about A.D. 81, when the inscription suggests that he left the Nile valley, or at least left the neighbourhood of Memnon.

(ii) At Bar Hill, ten miles north-east of the centre of Glasgow, an Agricolan fort was detected in 1903, underlying a larger fort erected later on the same hilltop by Pius.[1] Of the earlier fort, only the ditches were found; its ramparts and buildings—probably earthen ramparts and wooden buildings, such as were usual in Britain during the Flavian Age—had no doubt been levelled when the fort of Pius was built. This earlier fort was a small rectangular *castellum*, with an internal area of not quite two-thirds of an acre (hardly one-sixth of the size of the fort of Pius). It was defended by elaborate and massive earthen ramparts and ditches, and was clearly large enough for only a small garrison, presumably far less than 500 men (fig. 4).

(iii) Castlecary, near the middle of the Clyde-Forth isthmus.[2] A bit of 'Samian' pottery found here belongs to the age of Agricola, and, combined with other indications, suggests that the earliest fort at Castlecary was built by Agricola and a second at the same spot by Pius. The site is at once tactically strong and strategically important, and would naturally have been occupied in both periods.

(iv) At Rough Castle (nearly three miles west of Falkirk) excavations[3] in 1902-3 showed, just outside the fort and north of it, a group of small pits (each 7 feet long, 3 feet wide, 2½ feet deep) covering in all one-twelfth of an acre (fig. 5). They were clearly meant as obstacles to a charge, and recall the *lilia* with which in 52 B.C. Julius Caesar strengthened his blockading lines around Alesia (*B. G.* 7. 73, 8). Like those, they were probably fitted inside with sharpened stakes (*teretes stipites* Caesar calls them) to impale fallen enemies, the stakes being concealed by brushwood. A close parallel from a later age is afforded by the 'pottes', or circular holes, three feet deep, fitted with stakes and covered with branches and grass, by

[1] Macdonald, *Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, Glasgow, 1906; *Roman Wall*, p. 187 ff.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1903, p. 271 ff.; Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 f., 374 f., 383 ff.

[3] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1905, p. 442 ff.





FIGS. 5 and 6. Above : *Lilia* at Rough Castle. Below : Section of the Western front in the Great War.

which Bruce defended the approaches to his position at Bannockburn against Edward's cavalry.[1] But more vividly interesting is the rebirth of this age-old device in the Great War: fig. 6 gives a view of the defences on a section of the Western front. No actual traces of stakes were found by the excavators at Rough Castle: the wood had perished in eighteen centuries. Nor was specific evidence noted of the exact date within the Roman period to which the pits belonged; indeed, they were not fully examined and need further exploration. However, Dr. Macdonald has shown that they probably date from Agricola, while an inscription proves that the adjacent fort dates, at least in part, from Pius.[2] As was observed above, Agricola's garrisons were small; no doubt they were often hard pressed by the numerous Caledonians; and the defence needed special devices to make up for scanty numbers in face of superior multitudes; the 'lily-beds' were such devices.

(v) At Camelon, situated 1,200 yards north of the Wall and midway between Rough Castle and Falkirk,[3] excavations in 1899 yielded many potsherds of Agricolan date,[4] though those who reported on the diggings overlooked the dating. An inscription purporting to be of Agricolan date was found here in 1904. It mentions a legion which seems to have been sent to join the garrison of Britain in A.D. 71, and to have been transferred again to the continent about A.D. 85–86,—the *Legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis* (see p. lxxiv f.). But this inscription is probably a forgery.[5]

The fortification of the isthmus was the prelude to a further advance, and from the eastern end of the isthmus, more exactly from Camelon, a natural route runs northwards. In this advance the fleet co-operated with the army. Clearly we have to do with Stirling, Fife, Perthshire, and the adjacent counties, and the precise course which Agricola followed can be traced with the aid of the marked physical features of the country which he must have traversed (see Map, p. lx).

North of the isthmus, the Caledonian hills are grouped

[1] Cp. Oman, *Art of War*, p. 572.

[2] *Roman Wall*, p. 232 ff.

[3] Camelon, however, is not *on* the Wall, and it was probably built, not in A.D. 80–81, but in the following year, when the advance north of the isthmus began; see below, p. lxxii f.

[4] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1901, p. 329 ff., especially pp. 380, 392.

[5] *Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1367; it is not the only forgery found at Camelon: cp. Macdonald, *Rom. Wall*, p. 321, n. 2.

mainly along valleys which—like the most striking, the valley of the Caledonian Canal—run obliquely from S.W. to N.E. Any march of armies northwards, therefore, had inevitably to take a north-easterly direction. Indeed, the only line possible to a Roman general who did not wish to waste his energy amidst the tangled hills of Perthshire was to cross the Forth by way of Stirling, and thence, skirting the western end of the Ochils, to move along the banks of Allan Water into the Earn valley and on to Perth. From that strategic centre an easy route leads north along the valley of the Tay, and then north-eastwards through the long trough of Strathmore between the foothills of the eastern Grampians and the Sidlaws, to Forfar and the coast near Montrose, and along the intermittent strip of coastal lowland to, and even beyond, Aberdeen: whilst the valleys of Dee and Don, which reach the coast beside that city, give easy access to the interior uplands. Such is the line followed by the Caledonian railway. It is the route which must inevitably be followed by an army advancing against the Grampian *massif* from a base on or near the Forth. It affords a means of ultimately turning these hills by way of Strathspey. It is likely that Agricola took this line, however far he finally penetrated into Scotland: and it is in fact the line along which remains of Roman roads and camps of that period can actually be traced.

A Roman road can be detected to the north of Stirling in Strathallan: it runs through the fort of Ardoch, seven miles north-east of Dunblane, one of the most striking memorials of the Roman occupation of Scotland, with its extensive earthworks and multiple ditches designed doubtless to break the force of Highland charges (fig. 7). This fort, only partially excavated, has yielded remains of the Flavian period. Six miles farther north, at the point where the road crosses the River Earn, is the unexplored fort of Strageath, through which must have passed a transverse Roman road coming in from the fort at Carpow, near the mouth of the Earn, perhaps the site of *Trucculensis portus* (c. 38), and terminating apparently at Dealginross, beside Comrie, where there are entrenchments assignable (on somewhat scanty evidence) to the first century. Along this road would come supplies from the Firth of Tay. From Strageath the northward road swings east towards Perth. It can be traced along the ridge of Gask making for the Tay, which it apparently crossed at its junction with the river

Almond. Here are the remains of a fort now dimly traceable on the west bank and on the farther side lies Grassy Walls, the

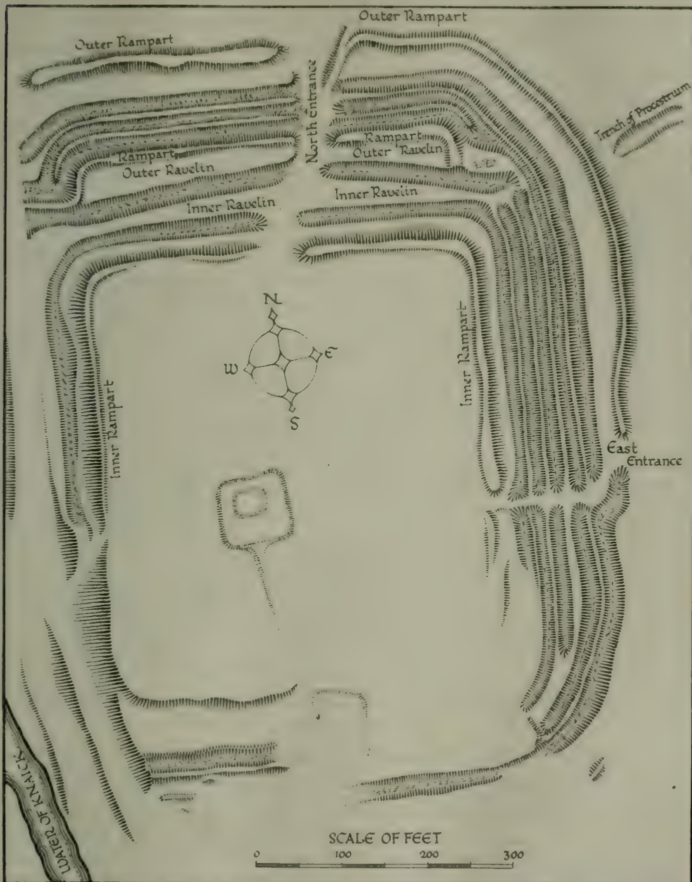


FIG. 7. Earthworks and ditches of the Roman fort of Ardoch

first of the series of temporary camps which extends through Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine into Aberdeenshire. Eight miles north of the crossing, and some way off the line of the Forfar

road, lies the small isolated plateau of Inchtuthil on the north bank of the Tay near its confluence with the Isla, seven miles south-east of Dunkeld, the gate of the Scottish Highlands (fig. 8). The plateau, rising fifty or sixty feet above the river, provides a defensible site, which is proved by its remains to have been occupied by Agricola or in his time. It commands the mouth of the valley through which the Highland Railway

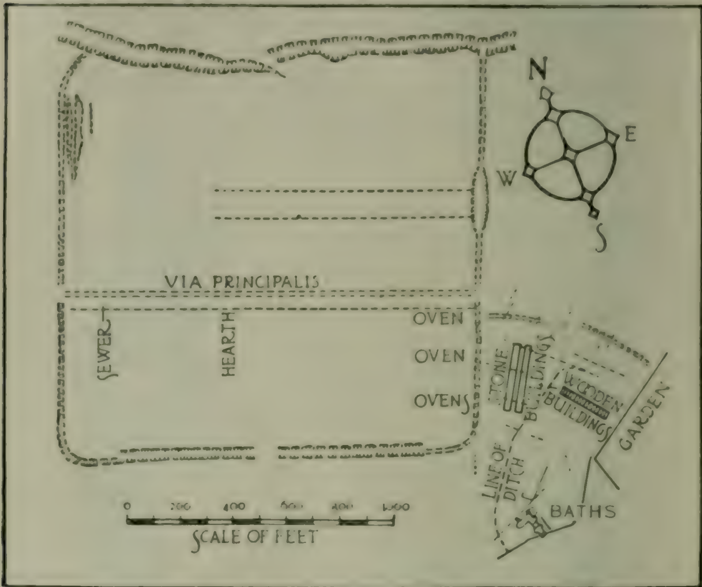


Fig. 8. Agricolan camp at Inchtuthil.

runs up, by Dunkeld, into the Perthshire hills. The camp was a semi-permanent one, capable of accommodating 7,000 to 10,000 men, and probably formed the advanced base from which Agricola set out to fight the battle of Mons Graupius. Somewhere to the north or north-east of it we may place that famous hill.[1]

The question how far Agricola's campaigns in Scotland had any permanent effect is one to which a definite answer has only

[1] On Camelon, Ardoch, Inchtuthil, *Trucculensis portus*, &c., see Macdonald, 'The Agricolan Occupation of North Britain' in *J. R. S.* 1919, p. 111 ff. and p. 136. This article is referred to below, p. lxxii.

now become possible. Tacitus tells us that Agricola handed over his province in a state of peace and security to his successor, a statement not inconsistent with the abandonment of some of the ground overrun (c. 40). Later, in the *Histories* (I. 2), he makes the rhetorical assertion that 'Britain was completely subdued and immediately let go', *perdomita Britannia et statim omissa*,[1] which has usually been interpreted to mean that the completion of the conquest of the island, practically achieved by the victory at the Graupian Hill, was abandoned by the withdrawal of troops from Britain (p. lxxv) and the suspension of operations. Caledonia at least—that is, Scotland north of the isthmus between Forth and Clyde—must, it was thought, have been abandoned. Whether that was the extent of the Roman withdrawal is a question that was variously answered before excavation began to disclose its evidence. Furneaux, with the scholar's caution where evidence is slight, committed himself to no more definite statement than that the conquest cannot have been as thorough as Tacitus asserts.[2] We have, he noted, allusions to troubles before the end of Domitian's rule,[3] and the record of the great disaster at the beginning of Hadrian's reign in which the Ninth legion perished[4]; 'and nearly the whole fabric of Agricola's work in the north seems to have melted like a vision', all apparently being lost north of York. Thus, he concluded, it was only in Roman imagination that Britain was ever *perdomita*; and 'Agricola's claim to have permanently enlarged the limits of the province' appears to been slight[5]: 'Cerialis, if he occupied York, had done more in that respect'. Others, with less caution, depreciated Agricola's campaigns as mere raids with no permanent results beyond a retirement to York.[6] With a truer instinct Mommsen,

[1] *Britannia* is an exaggeration for 'the further parts of Britain', the subjugation of which would complete the conquest of the island throughout its whole extent. So in *Agr.* c. 33, 3, *inventa Britannia et subacta*. The overstatement *perdomita*, repeated from *Agr.* c. 10, 1, reflects Agricola's optimism (see p. xxxvi).

[2] Ed. 1, p. 50.

[3] Juv. 4, 126–7 *de temone Britanno excidet Arviragus*, 'where a later event may be antedated, as the Satire must have been written after Domitian's death'.

[4] Fronto, *Ep. de bello Parthico*. 217–18 (Naber); *vit. Hadr.* 5 2. Cp. Juv. 14. 196, *Dirue . . . castella Brigantum*.

[5] On this statement see below, p. lxxiii.

[6] Schiller, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i, p. 526.

writing in 1885, concluded that the wide territory occupied by Agricola was retained.[1] When the spade began to unearth fresh evidence and brought proof that the occupation of the forts along the isthmus lasted no more than a year or two,[2] the theory of an immediate withdrawal from Scotland seemed to receive confirmation. But further excavation changed the situation. The systematic exploration of Newstead, near Melrose, revealed a fort founded by Agricola and held for many years, during which it was rebuilt, then abandoned, apparently in Trajan's reign, and re-occupied by the emperor Pius.[3] To harmonize the new facts with the older, Prof. Haverfield suggested that after Agricola's recall the Romans withdrew from the Forth–Clyde isthmus to the Tweed, and that this river remained the frontier until the great insurrection at the end of Trajan's reign caused a further withdrawal to the line from Tyne to Solway, along which Hadrian constructed his great barrier.[4] But this ingenious suggestion failed to account for the abundance of early pottery at Camelon, less than a mile to the north of the Forth–Clyde line (see p. lxvii); and a systematic examination, made by Dr. Macdonald, of all the Roman coins found in Scotland[5] seemed to confirm the conclusion to which the numismatic finds at Newstead had pointed, that the occupation of central and southern Scotland, begun by Agricola, lasted well into the reign of Trajan and probably till the great storm which marked its close. Numismatic data, however, are difficult to interpret and, even with the most skilful handling, they yield probable rather than certain conclusions. Corroborative evidence is needed, and here it has been gained by the same scholar from a critical examination[6] of the reports of the Scottish excavations which were conducted at Camelon (1899), Ardoch (1896–7), and Inchtuthil (1901) before knowledge and experience had reached the level of to-day. This acute and lucid study supplies convincing proof of the prolonged occupation of these forts from the time of Agricola onwards: they were held, not without effort and the need of reconstruction, yet held continuously for more than

[1] *Provinces*, i, p. 186.
[2] Cp. Macdonald, *Roman Wall*, p. 383 ff.
[3] Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post*, 1911.
[4] *Edinburgh Review*, 1911, p. 480 f.
[5] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1917–18, pp. 203–76.
[6] *J. R. S.*, 1919, p. 111 ff.

thirty years. The result is a vindication of Agricola's military capacity: assuredly 'if the Roman power in the north maintained itself so long unshaken, the foundation must have been well and truly laid,'[1] and Agricola's 'claim to have permanently enlarged the limits of the province', (above, p. lxxi) far from being slight, is securely established. The loss of the ground won in Scotland was not due to any fault of Agricola: it is to be laid at the door of Trajan, whose unmeasured passion for conquest exhausted the State and shook the whole fabric of the Empire.

The reason for the early abandonment of the forts along the isthmus now becomes clear. It was part of Agricola's military plan. They were built, as Tacitus implies, to facilitate the tightening of his hold on the southern districts which had only been overrun (c. 23). This was the necessary preliminary to a further advance, and when the advance was resumed, the forts were evacuated: the transverse barrier which they formed was replaced by a longitudinal line, or lines, of forts stretching north-eastwards along the main line of penetration into Scotland from Camelon to Inchtuthil on the River Tay and perhaps farther. How far Agricola pushed his way, only the spade can decide.

The new evidence affords a fresh proof of the defects of Tacitus as an historian. The epigrammatic statement 'Britain was completely subdued and immediately let go' turns out to mean 'the conquest of Britain was practically completed and the opportunity of completion was let slip'. It would not be easy to find a better example of the difficulty of extracting the plain truth from a rhetorical historian, and it is a warning against pressing the literal interpretation of not a few statements in the *Agricola*, the rhetorical character of which is openly avowed.[2] Finally, a fresh argument is added to those which already served to vindicate Domitian's policy in Britain;[3] and a new illustration is supplied of the insidious way in which Tacitus distorts the truth when (despite his repeated disclaimers) he is moved—whether consciously or unconsciously —*ira et studio*.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 132. [2] See above, p. xxi f., 46.
[3] See notes on cc. 39, 4 and 41, 2.

SECTION VII

THE ARMY OF AGRICOLA

(1) THE LEGIONARY AND AUXILIARY FORCES

For the Claudian invasion of Britain (A.D. 43) a strong force was carefully selected. It comprised four complete legions, *II Augusta*, *XIV Gemina Martia* (later *Gemina Martia Victrix*), and *XX Valeria Victrix*, all from the Rhine, and *IX Hispana* from Pannonia (the Danube frontier): and also a *vexillatio*, or special detachment, of *Legio VIII Augusta* (probably 1,000 strong), from the Danube.[1] With these we may assume that there came 'Auxiliaries', of more or less equal strength, but of unknown details. If these legions were (as was then probably usual) each some 5,000 to 6,000 strong, the whole force must have included nearly 25,000 legionaries (heavy infantry): the auxiliaries, horse (*alae*) and foot (*cohortes*), may be reckoned at nearly an equal strength, and the total may have been, on paper, 40,000.[2]

The bulk of this force remained permanently in Britain from A.D. 43 till near 400. The *vexillatio* of *Legio VIII* must, however, have soon rejoined its own legion on the continent, while *Legio XIV* was recalled in A.D. 68 (*Hist.* 1. 6: 2. 11). It returned to Britain for a few months in 69 (*Hist.* 2. 66), but was withdrawn for good in A.D. 70 (*Hist.* 4. 68). It was replaced by the Second of two 'auxiliary' legions which had been recently enrolled out of the crews of the Mediterranean fleet: on inscriptions this legion is usually described as *Legio II Adiutrix* or *Adiutrix p(ia) f(idelis)*. The title *Adiutrix* was probably chosen because the crews of the fleet were not citizens, and the legion was therefore not constituted out of citizens, in the usual manner, but rather in the fashion of auxiliaries (to 'aid' the regular troops).[3] Later, loyalty to Domitian or other service

[1] Dessau, nos. 967, 2701.

[2] Mommsen estimated it at 'about 40,000': Hübner at 70,000, which is pretty certainly too much.

[3] *Leg. I Adiutrix* (*legio classica*, *Hist.* 1. 31) was formed by Nero in 68, probably from the fleet of Misenum, and perhaps received its title from Otho (*Hist.* 1. 6: 2. 43). *Leg. II Adiutrix* was constituted by Vespasian (probably in 70), from the marines of the Ravenna fleet who went over to him and were armed by Antonius Primus (*Hist.* 3. 50, Dio. 55. 24).

won it the titles *p(ia)* and *f(idelis)*. It remained in Britain till Agricola's recall, then (soon after A.D. 85) it was required for the growing difficulties of Domitian's continental wars on the Danube.[1]

Traces of *Legio II Adiutrix* have been found in Britain at Bath (*CIL*. vii. 48), at Lincoln (*ibid.*, 185, 186), and especially at Chester, where eleven (or even sixteen) tombstones of men of this legion were extracted from the North City Wall in 1887–92.[2]

After the removal of this legion, no change was made in the legions of the Romano-British army, save that, late in Trajan's reign (A.D. 117–19), the Ninth legion vanished[3]: doubtless it was then destroyed in a British revolt. Some years later it was replaced by the Sixth Legion (*VI Victrix*) from the Rhine, which Hadrian brought over, with other reinforcements, probably in A.D. 122. These changes left three legions—*II Augusta*, *VI Victrix*, *XX Valeria Victrix*—which long remained the regular legionary garrison of the province; one was recalled for the defence of Italy just before A.D. 400.[4] Other British troops were apparently withdrawn by Magnus Maximus when, about A.D. 383, he started from Britain to strike a blow for the imperial throne.

Of the auxiliaries it is impossible to compile a detailed list, either for the age of Agricola or for any later date.[5] Tacitus names only two bodies of auxiliaries as serving in Agricola's army, Tungrians and Batavians (c. 36, 1), who were present at the battle of Mons Graupius. According to the best MS. there were in that fight four Batavian cohorts. There had been

[1] Cp. *Agr.* 39. 4 (note); 41. 2, and note. Ritterling places the recall of the legion in 86 (*Oesterr. Jahresh.* vii, 1904, *Beibl.* 25), Filow in 88 (*Klio*, vi. *Beiheft*, p. 40).

[2] See Haverfield's edition of these stones, *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 538, no. 1047 ff.; also his *Catalogue of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester* (Chester, 1900) with illustrations; A. von Domaszewski, *Rhein. Mus.* xlviii (1893), 347; Ritterling, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xii (1893), 106; and Fr. Gündel, *De legione II adiutrice*, Lipsiae (1895).

[3] The latest evidence of its presence at York is an inscr. of A. D. 108 (*CIL*. vii. 241).

[4] Claudian, *de bello Pollentino* 416: *venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis*. There, however, *legio* may mean a 'levy' or 'force', and not a specific legion (*Class. Review*, xxi, 1907, p. 105).

[5] G. L. Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford, 1914), Appendix I (p. 145 ff.), gets as near the truth as the evidence allows.

eight Batavian cohorts closely connected [1] with the Fourteenth Legion—*quartae decimae legionis auxilia*, as Tacitus calls them (*Hist.* 1. 59, 64); but in the disorder following Nero's fall they had become separated from it. A little later these cohorts were fighting on the Rhine along with other disconnected auxiliaries under Civilis (*Hist.* 4. 19-21). Subsequently all of them seem to have been dismissed by Vespasian. The four cohorts which served under Agricola were doubtless new creations.[2] One of them is probably identical with the *cohors I Batavorum*, 500 strong, which was in Britain [3] in A.D. 124 and remained there till the fourth century, and the others may be those numbered I, II, and III (all *miliariae*), which are found at the end of the first century or in later centuries in other provinces.

Besides the Batavians, Tacitus mentions two Tungrian cohorts, which were probably recruited, like the Batavians, in the Low Countries, where their name survives at Tongres or Tongern (the ancient *Aduatuca Tungrorum*) in the Belgian province Limburg. These were doubtless the two Tungrian cohorts mentioned in A.D. 69 (*Hist.* 2. 14) and identical with the *cohors I Tungrorum miliaria*, which was in Britain [4] in A.D. 103 and remained there till the fourth century, and the *cohors II Tungrorum miliaria equitata*, which formed part of the army of Britain [5] in A.D. 158 and continued to do so till the third century. Tacitus also mentions a *cohors Usiporum* (28, 1; 32, 4), which had been enrolled recently (see note on c. 28 and Appendix I). We may think, further, that the auxiliaries engaged in the attack on Mona were Batavians, though the actual unit is not specified by Tacitus (18, 5). In the same chapter an *ala* is mentioned as having been destroyed in Wales, but, characteristically, its name is omitted. It has also been inferred from three passages that there were British auxiliaries in Agricola's army (c. 29, 2; 32, 1, 4), and Urlichs assumed the existence of a *cohors Britannorum*. These

[1] This is one of the few cases where specific auxiliaries are mentioned as connected with specific legions. See *Classical Review*, Nov. 1914, p. 226.

[2] Cichorius in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.* iv. 250 f. Cheesman, *Auxilia*, p. 72, n. 2, takes the same view.

[3] Diploma xliii in *CIL.* iii, *Suppl.*

[4] Dipl. xxxii. Cichorius, l. c. Cp. Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 327.

[5] *Eph. Ep.* ix. 1230.

passages, indeed, leave no doubt that there were Britons serving under Agricola ; but, as no auxiliary regiment raised in Britain was ever, so far as we know, employed there[1]—and this is in accordance with a practice which was general after A. D. 70 —it is virtually certain that these British recruits were drafted into other auxiliary units serving in the island. Such local recruiting was common after the accession of Vespasian and not uncommon before.[2]

At the battle of Mons Graupius there were 8,000 auxiliary foot and 3,000 horse in the line, and a further cavalry force of four *alae*, probably about 2,000 men in all, in reserve (c. 35, 2 ; 37, 1). Starting from the (apparently true) inference[3] that, apart from Britons, these regiments were all recruited from Gaul and the two Germanies, Urlichs endeavoured to draw up a detailed list of the units, by combining Tacitus' evidence with that of the *diplomata militaria*, or *constitutiones*, which give lists (or parts of lists) of troops in Britain in A. D. 98, 103, and 105, and by omitting all but Gaulish or German regiments.[4] But apart from the fact that he included a *cohors Britannorum* and assumed the Batavian cohorts to be three, whereas we now know them to have been four, these *diplomata* yield no certain evidence as to the identity or the number of auxiliary units serving in Britain in Agricola's time. They seem, it is true, to show that not many changes were being made in the composition of the British garrisons at this time ; but changes must have followed Agricola's recall (cp. p. lxxv), and it would be rash to suppose that the lists of 98–105 hold good for the army of 83 or 84.

(ii) THE QUARTERS OF THE LEGIONS

(*a*) *Legio II Augusta* appears in the south-west of Britain. A casual tile marks the presence of at least part of it, on a site near Seaton, close to the south coast ; this tile may be connected with the time (A. D. 43) when Vespasian commanded it and conquered the Isle of Wight and the adjacent south coast.[5] We have also traces of it in Nero's reign in Somersetshire,

[1] Mommsen, 'Conscriptionsordnung', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vi, p. 99.
[2] Cp. Cheesman, *op. cit.*, p. 67 ff.
[3] Cp. cc. 28 and 32.
[4] *Die Schlacht am Berge Graupius*, 1882, p. 14.
[5] See above, p. xlvii and note 1.

where it was somehow employed in connexion with the Mendip lead mines (p. 175). From here it seems to have been transferred across the Bristol Channel to the fortress of Isca, at Caerleon, close to Newport, near the mouth of the Usk. When this post was first occupied, our evidence does not show[1]; but some of the pottery found at Caerleon is as early as the age of Agricola, and we may suppose that by the time of his governorship the Second Legion was already stationed there. It remained at Isca till the end of the Romano British period; in the last days of that age it was apparently transferred to Richborough (Rutupiae) in Kent, where it helped to defend the East coast against Saxon invaders, and to guard the principal port by which continental traffic entered and left southern Britain.[2] A tombstone of a stray soldier from this legion occurs also at Chester; and it appears on the two Roman Walls in the north: but the men on the Walls were engaged in building them and were not permanently posted there, while the man at Chester probably died on his way between Caerleon and the north (*Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1072).

(*b*) *Legio IX* is mentioned by Tacitus as *maxime invalida* in A.D. 82 3 (see note to c. 26). It was stationed at Lincoln, as early as the reign of Claudius (*Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1111). When the Roman headquarters in Eastern Britain were pushed northward to York, about A.D. 75-7, the Ninth was placed in garrison there, and remained there till it disappeared at the end of Trajan's reign, when it seems to have been destroyed in a British revolt.

(*c*) *Legio XX*. The Twentieth Legion was posted at Chester from the earliest occupation of the site (about A.D. 50); it remained there continuously during the Roman occupation of Britain. Detachments from it occur in many places, alike in North Wales, in South Lancashire, and on the two Roman Walls; but this does not imply that the headquarters of the Legion were ever moved. Tacitus mentions this legion once, but never alludes to Chester (c. 7, 5).

(*d*) *Legio II Adiutrix*. This legion (see above, p. lxxiv) was in Britain only from A.D. 71 to 85 or a little later, and its permanent quarters were perhaps never settled. The principal traces of it, tombstones of its soldiers, have been found at Bath (probably an invalid), Chester, Lincoln, and Wroxeter:

[1] See Haverfield, *Roman Wales*, p. 11. [2] See p. xlvi and note.

but, save at Chester, they are very few, and imply no more than the presence of some detachment, or some temporary distribution of troops such as might easily occur in the period of uncompleted conquest (A. D. 43–80). An inscription found

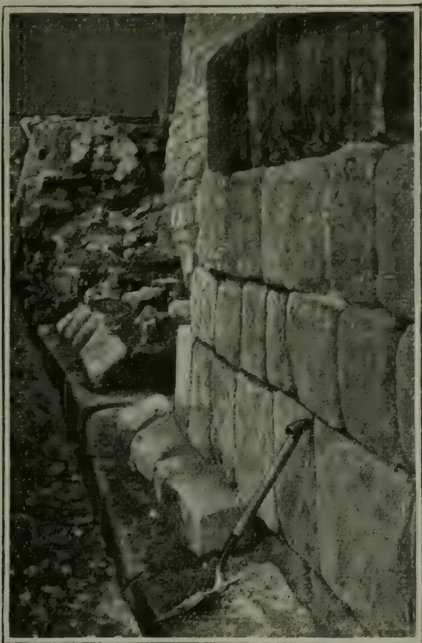


FIG. 9. Face of the north wall of the legionary fortress at Chester, built probably towards A. D. 200.

at Camelon near Falkirk (p. lxvii) seems to be a forgery. Tacitus does not mention this legion in the *Agricola*.

(*e*) *Legio XIV Gemina Martia*. The Fourteenth Legion also was only a short time in Britain (43–70), and it is uncertain whether it ever had permanent or fixed *hiberna* in the island. Its traces occur seldom and, indeed, only at Wroxeter (Viroconium [1]) and perhaps once at Chester. Wroxeter seems

[1] Above, p. xlvii.

to have been originally a native tribal capital, but it may, as a Roman site, have begun as a military post, though no structural remains of military fortifications have yet been detected there. The legion served with distinction, and won the epithet *Victrix* (cp. *domitores Britanniae* in *Hist.* 5. 16); at the end of Nero's reign it was shifted to the continent (see above, p. lxxiv). It did not, therefore, form any part of the forces under Agricola.

The general disposition of these forces was doubtless that which we find attested by later remains and which corresponds to the strategic needs of the island in the first period of conquest. That is to say, there were legionary posts at Caerleon (*Legio II Aug.*) and Chester (*Legio XX*) to guard the Welsh frontier. In the earlier years of the conquest there was probably for a while a third post on the edge of the Welsh hills at Wroxeter (*Legio XIV*), nearly half way between the two. There was also, after about A.D. 75–7, a post at York (*Legio IX*, later *VI*). York, with Chester, controlled the two chief lines marked out by nature for movement from the English midlands to North England and Scotland, and thus the *hiberna* of York and Chester formed the bases for the maintenance of the defence of the northern frontier. Chester is specially noteworthy as the one place where the name of Agricola occurs on an inscription.[1] It would be rash to argue that Agricola had personal connexion with the fortress or was ever active there; but it must have been the base for his operations in North Wales at the beginning of his governorship (c. 18), and it obviously served as his base for part of his advances northwards. [F. H.]

SECTION VIII

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

The *Agricola*, like the *Germania*, represents the second phase of Tacitus' style.[2] Most authors whose style is pronounced and whose work extends over many years, pass through several phases: a signal instance of such development

[1] Quoted in the note on c. 46, 4.

[2] On the gradual development of Tacitus' style, cp. E. Wölfflin in *Philologus*, vols. 25 and 26. Some interesting facts relating to the choice of words have been brought out by E. Löfstedt *Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, 1911.

is that of Carlyle. In the case of Tacitus there was the additional circumstance that in middle life he passed from oratorical to historical composition. The *Agricola* and the *Germania* have this feature in common, that, being nearly intermediate in time between the probable date of the *Dialogue on Oratory* and that of the *Annals*, they are strongly distinguished from both, and that, as compared with the *Histories*, which began to appear six years later, they show the transitional style of an historian who had earned fame as an orator, and still preserves some personal leaning to the ancient classical models, though on the whole following the fashion of a time which required its pleaders to be terse, epigrammatic, and striking, to be tolerant of 'Graecisms'[1], and to enrich their phraseology by words newly invented or borrowed from the treasury of classical poetry. It has also been noted that these two treatises represent the writer's Sallustian period, as the *Dialogue* represents his Ciceronian, and that the influence of Sallust is discernible not only in the publication of a separate historical monograph in the shape of the *Germania*, but also in the dominance of the historical form of narrative in the biography of Agricola (see Section III).

The general plan of composition of the *Agricola* shows resemblances to that of the *Catilina* and the *Jugurtha* which can hardly be accidental.[2] All three works begin with a preface (c. 1–3; *Cat.* 1–4; *Jug.* 1–4), in which, notwithstanding the differences of circumstances and subject, not a few resemblances of tone and sentiment are observable. In each we have a biographical sketch of the early career of the principal person (c. 4–9; *Cat.* 5, and 15–19; *Jug.* 7–16). The description of Britain with which the central part of Tacitus' narrative is prefaced has its counterpart in that of Africa (*Jug.* 17–19).

[1] Most so-called Graecisms are genuine Latin idioms which had an analogy in Greek and were developed under its influence (cp. K. Brugmann, *Indoger. Forsch.*, v, p. 100; J. H. Schmalz, *Latein. Gramm.*, ed. 3, p. 474). Those used in the *Agricola* are generally such as are to be found in earlier Latin, e. g. the dative of the point of view *transgressis* (c. 10, 4), *aestimanti* (c. 11, 3), &c., and expressions like *in aperto* (c. 1, 2; 33, 4), *famam circumdedit* (c. 20, 1), *ex facili* (c. 15, 1), *in hoc campo est* (c. 32, 5), *ceterorum fugacissimi* (c. 34, 1).

[2] Cp. Urlichs (*De vita et honoribus Taciti*, Progr. Würzburg, 1879), who follows Eussner (*Jahrb. class. Phil.*, 1868 and 1875), and is followed by Schoenfeld (*De Taciti studiis Sallustianis*, p. 48). Their comparison is somewhat more minute than that here given. On Sallust and Tacitus, cp. also Wölfflin's *Archiv*, xii. 119 and xiv. 273.

The main narrative is broken here and there by a digression or episode (c. 24; 28; *Cat.* 38-9; *Jug.* 41-2; 78-9), and a considerable portion of it is devoted to speeches (c. 30-4; *Cat.* 51-2; 58; *Jug.* 85; 102; 110) and to a full account of the decisive battle (c. 35-8; *Cat.* 59-60; *Jug.* 101). Indeed the conclusion of the *Agricola* is the only part in which no such resemblance of plan seems traceable. Here there are clear signs of another model. The Ciceronian element[1] in the closing chapters forms a connecting link with the *Dialogue*. That the virtually contemporary *Germania* has no counterpart to this, is natural enough: the *Germania* is not a biography.

A comparison of syntactical usages shows that many of those most characteristic of the author's later works are here, as in the *Germania*, conspicuous by their absence or rarity. Among those which appear may be noted a few accusatives with compound verbs such as *eluctari* (c. 17, 3), *incursare* (c. 36, 3), *evadere* (c. 33, 5); the gerundive dative (but not genitive) of purpose (c. 23, 1; 31, 3; 45, 2); the predicative dative, as *derisui* (c. 39, 2); free uses of the ablative, local (c. 24, 1; 25, 1; 26, 2), modal (c. 36, 1; 37, 5, &c.), or causal (c. 14, 4; 16, 6, &c.); the concise abl. abs. of participles, like *aestimantibus* (c. 18, 7), *penetrantibus* (c. 34, 2); the concise abl. (c. 16, 4) and genit. (c. 4, 1, &c.) of quality; the genit. with adjectives or participles, such as *patiens* (c. 12, 5), *velox* (c. 13, 4), *securus* (c. 43, 3), or with adverbs, as *eo* (c. 28, 3). As regards the use of verbs, we have the omission of verbs of speaking (c. 15, 1), doing (c. 19, 2), arising (c. 11, 1), or appearing (c. 33, 1); somewhat strong instances of the omission of *sum* (c. 16, 5; 17, 1; 21, 3; 26, 3; 29, 1): verbs usually intransitive used transitively (c. 44, 5); the accus. and inf. with *offensus* (c. 42, 3); infinitives with adjectives or participles (c. 8, 1; 12, 5); indicatives followed by *ni* or *nisi* (c. 31, 5; 37, 1; cp. c. 4, 4); potential subjunctives (c. 22, 5; 44, 2, &c.), the subj. with *quamquam* (c. 3, 1, &c.), the subj. of repeated action (c. 9, 3), perhaps the only instance in the minor works; and an unprecedented use of the supine (c. 32, 1). The present participle is sometimes substantival (c. 4, 3, &c.); and the past participle, not only of deponents (c. 29, 2, &c.) but also of passives (c. 2, 2; 5, 1; 14, 4; 22, 1) has an aoristic or present force, or a substantival meaning in apposition (c. 1, 1), or the force of an abstract noun

[1] See on c. 43, 1.

with genit. (c. 45, 4). In prepositions there are noteworthy uses of *citra* (c. 1, 3; 35, 2), *erga* (c. 5, 4), *in* (c. 8, 3, &c.), *inter* (c. 32, 4), *per* (c. 4, 2; 29, 1. &c.), *pro* (c. 26, 3), the Sallustian adverbial *iuxta* (c. 22, 3), the adjectival *contra* (c. 10, 2), and *ultra* (c. 25, 1), and adjectival uses of constructions with preps. (c. 6, 3; 16, 1). In conjunctions, we note *et* (c. 3, 1; 9, 3; 15, 4), with the sense 'and yet', the use of *et* before negatives (c. 16, 4. &c.), the combinations *et . . . quoque* (c. 24, 1), *que . . . et* (c. 18, 5), *neque . . . ac* (c. 10, 7), the use of *quominus* for *quin* (c. 20, 2).

As regards the general literary style of the treatise, we see the beginning of the development which gradually led Tacitus farther and farther away from the popular language of his time till he reached the lofty and strongly individual style of the *Annals*. Thus we have a sparing use of the more literary of two synonyms, such as *modicus* for *parvus*, *interficere* for *occidere*, *reperire* for *invenire*, but not the decided preference for the choicer word that is shown in the *Histories* and still more in the *Annals*.[1] On the other hand, we find a very strong predilection for the perfect form in *-ere* instead of the popular *-erunt*, which prevailed in later Latin and has been developed in the languages descended from it.[2] We find, too, innovations of diction, though they are not on the whole numerous—new words *inlacessitus* (c. 20, 3; also in *Ger.*) and *covinnarius* (c. 35, 3; 36, 3); noteworthy abstract plurals, as *fulgores* (c. 33, 1), *pallores* (c. 45, 2); rare comparative forms, as *porrectior* (c. 35, 4), *inrevocabilior* (c. 42, 4); or superlative, as *audentissimus* (c. 33, 1); senses new in prose,[3] or altogether new, as of *dissociabilis* (c. 3, 1, new both in prose and in sense), *anxius* (c. 5, 2), *percolere* (c. 10, 1), *obtendi* (c. 10, 2; also in *Ger.*), *adfundi* (c. 35, 2), *spiramenta* (c. 44, 5), *transvectus* (c. 18, 3), or variations from usual phrases, as *bellum impellere* (c. 25, 1), *complexum armorum* (c. 36, 1), *terga praestare* (c. 37, 3), where *praestare* is used in the description of a *grande et atrox spectaculum* as a substitute for the threadbare *dare* or *praebere*,[4]

[1] Cp. Löfstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 256, 232. *Modicus* is adopted by later Latin and *parvus* drops out; in the other cases the colloquial word survives.

[2] Löfstedt, p. 36 ff., 358. The proportion appears to be about 30 to 7 in the *Agricola*.

[3] Some of the expressions noted below as taken from poets do not seem to be found in earlier prose.

[4] *Praebere* in the margin of *E* is a bad conjecture.

a substitute chosen also by Juvenal without metrical necessity and adopted by later Latin, whence it passed into the Romance languages (Fr. *preter*, &c.).

Traces of study or imitation of previous authors abound in all the writings of Tacitus; and it is apparently a characteristic of the *Agricola* to show a larger proportion of reminiscences of prose authors than of poets. The Ciceronian character of the epilogue and the traces of Sallust in the *dispositio operis* have been already noticed. The influence of Sallust is further shown in the interspersion (as in the *Germania*) of sententious maxims. The description of Romans put into the mouth of Calgacus recalls the letter of Mithridates. Other sentiments in the same speech (c. 31, 1), and in that of Agricola (c. 33, 4), seem modelled on the speech of Catiline (*Cat.* 58), and parts of the description of the battle (c. 37, 2–3) on that of the battle against Jugurtha, with detached expressions (c. 33, 4–5; 36, 3) from other parts of the author. Elsewhere we have from the same source *clarus ac magnus haberi* (c. 18, 6), *qui mortales initio coluerint* (c. 11, 1), *pro salute, de gloria certare* (c. 26, 3; cp. c. 5, 3), *multus in agmine*, *nihil quietum pati* (c. 20, 2), *oriri sueta* (c. 12, 5) *frustra esse* (c. 13, 4), *edoctus aliquid* (c. 26, 2), *memorabile facinus* (c. 28, 1, also in Livy), the Graecism *quibus volentibus erat* (c. 18, 3), the metaphorical use of *pronum* (c. 1, 2; 33, 4).

The traceable reminiscences of Livy, fewer and less close, are found chiefly in the narrative of the great battle. In the speech of Agricola we note some parallelism of sentiment and a few resemblances of expression to the speeches of Scipio and Hannibal before Ticinum (c. 33, 1; 34, 1, 3) and to other passages, and a similar influence may be seen in the description of the advantage gained by knowledge of locality, and of drawing a 'cordon' round the enemy (c. 37, 4), as well as in the military senses of *diducere* (c. 35, 4), *in vestigiis* (c. 34, 3), *vestigiis insequi* (c. 26, 2), *vitare* and *ad manus* (c. 36, 1), *finis sequendi* (c. 37, 6), and the *vastum silentium* after flight (c. 38, 2). Elsewhere, scattered traces may be found, such as the adjectival *in vicem* (c. 24, 1), *securus* for *tutus* (c. 30, 1), the phrases *his instincti* (c. 16, 1), *egregius cetera* (c. 16, 2), *praeceps in iram* (c. 42, 4). From Seneca appears to have been taken the idea of *nostri superstites* (c. 3, 2), perhaps that of *odisse quem laeseris* (c. 42, 4), and the expression *citra sanguinem* (c. 35, 2).

Among poets his chief debt is, as elsewhere, to Virgil, from whom he takes *cruda ac viridis senectus* (c. 29, 4), the idea of *aliquando victis ira virtusque* (c. 37, 3) and *monstratus fatis* (c. 13, 4), *curis exercitus* (c. 39, 4), *non alias* (c. 5, 3), perhaps the sense of *miscere ictus* (c. 36, 2), *subit* (c. 3, 1), *revolvo* (c. 46, 3); also the dative with *excipere* (c. 15, 3), the abl. with *avelli* (c. 12, 7), the genit. with *securus* (c. 43, 3), the infinitive with *peritus* (c. 8, 1), the anastrophe of *quin etiam* (c. 26, 3). From Horace we seem to get the phrase *silere aliquem* (c. 41, 2), the expression *aeque . . . aeque* (c. 15, 2), perhaps the sense of *tardus* (c. 18, 3) and *numerus* (c. 34, 2). To Ovid he may have been indebted for *sumite animum* (c. 31, 4), *in bella faciles* (c. 21, 1), the 'Graecism' *ex facili* (c. 15, 1), and perhaps the phrase *quantum ad* (c. 44, 3; also in *Ger.*), and dative with *mitis* (c. 16, 3); to Lucan for *incerta fugae vestigia* (c. 38, 3), *spargere bellum* (c. 38, 3), and possibly *annus* in the sense of *annona* (c. 31, 2; also in *Ger.*); to Silius possibly for the dative with *novus* (c. 16, 3).

The influence of the author's rhetorical training is more evident than in the *Germania*, where it is more prominent than in the later works. The speeches occupy a large space in proportion to the narrative, and the epilogue is virtually another oration. The same influence is seen (as in his other minor works) in a redundancy of expression which he would have severely pruned down at a later date, showing itself chiefly in the attempt to emphasize by accumulating virtually synonymous terms. Thus we have *vicit ac supergressa est* (c. 1, 1), *comitio ac foro* (c. 2, 1), *fiduciam ac robur* (c. 3, 1), *incensum ac flagrantem* (c. 4, 4), *sublime et erectum*, *pulchritudinem ac speciem*, *magnae excelsaeque* (c. 4, 5), *quiete et otio* (c. 6, 3, &c.), *iugis ac montibus* (c. 10, 7), *factionibus et studiis* (c. 12, 1), *viva ac spirantia* (c. 12, 7), *ignavis et imbellibus* (c. 15, 3), *indecorus atque humilis* (c. 16, 5), *praesidiis castellisque* (c. 20, 3), *proelium atque arma* (c. 30, 2), *recessus ac sinus* (c. 30, 4), *integri et indomiti* (c. 31, 5), *dissensionibus ac discordiis* (c. 32, 1), *fama et rumore*, *castris et armis* (c. 33, 3), *terrarum ac naturae* (c. 33, 6), *fictum ac compositum* (c. 40, 2), *celebritate et frequentia* (c. 40, 3), *vulgus et populus* (c. 43, 1), *intervalla ac spiramenta* (c. 44, 5), *formam ac figuram* (c. 46, 3). Of the rhetorical or poetical expansion of an idea by hendiadys the genuine instances seem few, but we may note *sinu indulgentiaque* (c. 4, 2), *legationibus et foederibus* (c. 29, 3), *diem consensumque* (c. 30, 1), probably

honore iudicioque (c. 43, 4), and the emended reading *tenor et silentium* (c. 6, 4). As in the *Germania*, and still more in the *Dialogus*, there are frequent instances of rhetorical anaphora, or emphatic repetition of an adjective, pronoun, adverb, &c., for example, *procul* (c. 9, 5), *aeque* (c. 15, 2), *nihil* (c. 15, 3), *qui* (c. 18, 5), *simul* (c. 25, 1), *cotidie* (c. 31, 2), *noctu* (c. 40, 3), *absens* (c. 41, 1). Frequently rhetorical point is given by alliteration, as in *magna fama . . . mala* (c. 5, 4), *deposcendis . . . detrectandis* (c. 11, 4), *poena . . . paenitentia* (c. 19, 3), *offendere . . . odisse* (c. 22, 5), *vota virtusque*, *victoribus . . . victis* (c. 33, 4; cp. c. 18, 7), *mucrones ac manus* (c. 36, 1), *virtutibus . . . vitiis* (c. 41, 4), *famam fatumque* (c. 42, 4), *inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit* (c. 46, 4). Further, the rhetorical structure of clauses known as chiasmus is seen here and there (c. 18, 7; 20, 2; 28, 2; 36, 1), and some of the personifications, such as those of *ira* and *victoria* (c. 16, 1), *pugnae* (c. 30, 3), *gladii* (c. 36, 1), are unusually bold.

In these characteristics the *Agricola* contrasts with Tacitus' later works. Many, too, of his favourite modes of compression are less prominent here. The cases of zeugma, so frequent in the *Annals*, are few [1], and some of his noteworthy ellipses or concise constructions are rare or absent [2]; and where *breviloquentia* is studied it is apt to take a somewhat different form. In the later writings, the conciseness is more continuous, and more thoroughly a work of art; the links omitted are generally such as can easily be supplied, and the effort of supplying them and completing the logical expression serves to arrest and interest the reader.[3] Here we find sometimes a more spasmodic straining after brevity, apt to result in loss of clearness.

It is perhaps most of all in these harshnesses that the chief characteristic of this treatise lies.[4] Written probably before the *Germania*, it seems to be a first attempt to form a historical out of a rhetorical style, a *rudis et incondita vox*, and more

[1] Some instances given are questionable, but we may note the uses of *adsumpserit* (c. 3, 1), *obeunt* (c. 13, 1), *conteruntur* (c. 31, 2), *exstimulabant* (c. 41, 4), and a very harsh instance in c. 19, 3 (see below).

[2] Those which are absent are much the same as are noted in *Introd.* to *Germania*, pp. 9, 10; those which are used have been noted above, (p. lxxxii); to these may be added cases of compendious comparison, as *ultra nostri orbis mensuram* (c. 12, 3), *a Britannia differunt* (c. 24, 2); ellipses of pronouns, as c. 9, 1; 42, 3, &c.

[3] Some of these are collected by Peter, *Appendix*, pp. 113–19.

[4] Cp. above, p. xviii.

or less tentative. Tacitus had parted with such advantage as the following of Cicero had given him in the *Dialogus*, and had hardly formed his own style, and sometimes adopts expressions which, aided by oral emphasis or other means, are better suited to produce effect on hearers than on readers. We notice in the *Germania* such bold figures as *obstitit Oceanus in se inquiri* (c. 34, 3), and such straining after conciseness as *vallare noctem* (c. 30, 2). In the *Agricola* such faults of style are still more prominent. For bold rhetorical experiments in phrase we have *ludos duxit* (c. 6, 4), *fama aucti officii* (c. 14, 3), *terga occasioni patefecit* (c. 14, 4), *eripi domos* (c. 15, 3). *agitavit Britanniam disciplina* (c. 16, 6), *qui mare expectabant* (c. 18, 5), *intrepida hiems* (c. 22, 3), *recessus ac sinus famae defendit* (c. 30, 4), *finem Britanniae non rumore tenemus* (c. 33, 3), *vota virtusque in aperto* (c. 33, 4), *otium hausit* (c. 40, 4), *in gloriam praeceps agebatur* (c. 41, 4). Among the places which a slight expansion of language would have saved from harshness or even obscurity are some of those[1] in which two sentences are combined in one (c. 10, 4 ; 12, 6 ; 25, 2 ; 44, 4), or in which what is left to be supplied is not clearly indicated (c. 6, 1 ; 21, 2 ; 30, 4 ; 31, 1 ; 38, 5), or in which the idea of a qualifying word such as *tantum*, *quamquam*, or *tamen* seems required to complete the sense (c 10, 6 ; 16, 2), and such expressions as *contubernio aestimaret* (c. 5, 1), *in vicem se anteponendo* (c. 6, 1), *inter quaesturam ac tribunatum* (c. 6, 3), *victoria amplexus aut bello* (c. 17, 2), the the harsh zeugma in *poena contentus* (c. 19, 3), *mixti copiis et laetitia* (c. 25, 1), *pulchrum ac decorum in frontem* (c. 33, 5). *ut erat Domitiano moris, excepit* (c. 39. 1), and departures from rules elsewhere observed by the author (see on c. 4, 5 ; 38, 4).

In several of these passages many critics have insisted that the words are corrupt, and have proposed corrections. But in many cases the reading has not been seriously questioned, and to admit these is to weaken the force of the objections to others, and to strengthen the misgiving that we may be endeavouring to correct not the copyist but the author.

[1] Other instances of such combination (e. g. c. 1, 3; 5, 1 ; 10, 6; 12, 2; 14, 3-4 ; 39, 2), are fully within such limits as Tacitus elsewhere observes, and cause no difficulty. The same may be said of other places in which, instead of the strict logical corresponding expression, one more terse and forcible is substituted, as c. 1, 2 ; 3, 1 : 9, 5 ; 19, 2 ; 31, 3 ; 34, 3. To most of these Peter (*Appendix*) cites parallels from the later works.

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SIGLA

CODICES:

E codex Aesinas (Latin. 8), saec. x

In vetere libri parte (sc. c. 13 *munia* . . . c. 40 *missum*):

E^2 secunda manus, eiusdem aetatis, quae correctiones super lineam vel in margine scripsit

E^3 manus recentiores, sc. virorum doctorum qui litterarum renascentium temporibus correctiones adscripserunt

T codex Toletanus (Bibl. capitular. 49. 2), *a.* 1474

A codex Vaticanus 3429, saec. xv exeuntis

A^1 prima manus super lineam se ipsa corrigens

A^m (nonnumquam usurpatum) prima manus varias lectiones in margine adscribens

B codex Vaticanus 4498, saec. xv exeuntis

EDITIONES VETERES:

Put. Francisci Puteolani (Fr. dal Pozzo), *circ. a.* 1480–1497

Rhen. Beati Rhenani (Bild von Rheinau), *a.* 1533, 1544

Lips. Iusti Lipsii, *a.* 1574–1600

Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini), *Notae ad Tacitum*, etc., 1595

CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA

IVLII AGRICOLAE

LIBER

Clarorvm virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, anti- 1
quitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam
incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac
nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis mag-
nisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam.
sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque 2
in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad proden-
dam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae
tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. ac plerique suam ipsi 3
vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam
arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut
obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus optime
aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. at nunc narraturo 4
mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petis-
sem incusaturus: tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio **2**

Inscriptionem sic habet E Post vita *add.* et moribus *ceteri codices Quae verba E quoque habet in subscriptione, a Stef. Guarnieri scilicet descripta; desunt tamen in vetere codicis folio* 76[b], *de cuius scriptura alibi erasa superest subscriptio: unde fortasse colligi potest e Germaniae inscriptione quae subsequitur orta esse*

3 mala *T* 12 optime *E, Put.*: optimae *AB* 14 fuerit *Roth.* 15 *post* incusaturus *distinxit Wex*: *sine distinctione codd., vulgo* ni cursaturus (incursaturus *Rhen.*) *Put.*: ni incusaturus *Lips.*

Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse,
neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum
saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta claris-
2 simorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. scilicet
illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et
conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis
insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in
3 exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. dedi-
mus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus
aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in
servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audien-
4 dique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce per-
didissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam
tacere.

3 Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim
beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabilis
miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cotidie
felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac
votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur
adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt
remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt,
cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius
quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dul-
2 cedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. quid, si
per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi
fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis
interciderunt, pauci et, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum
sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot
annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos

1 Senetioni *codd.*: *corr. Rhen.* 5 vocem *om. B* 9 grande *om. B* 15 et *codd.*: set *editores Bipontini* (*Halm*) 16 dissotiabiles *ETA*: dissolubiles *B*: insociabiles *Novák* 19 securitatis res publica *Mützell* 25 multi *Lips.*: multis *codd.* 27 et, ut ita *Rhenanus in textu* (*in notis* et *delere voluit*): et uti *codd.*: ut sic *Wölfflin*

exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus? non tamen 3
pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servi-
tutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse.
hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus,
professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium 4
colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum
habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. pater illi Iulius Grae-
cinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque
notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus:
namque Marcum Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat,
interfectus est. mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. in 2
huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum
artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. arce- 3
bat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam inte-
gramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram
studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et pro-
vinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. memoria 4
teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium
philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac
senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac fla-
grantem animum coërcuisset. scilicet sublime et erectum 5
ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque
gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. mox mitigavit
ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia
modum.

Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, 5
diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contu-
bernio aestimaret. nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum 2

1 exaptae *T* 2 servitutis *ET*, *Ursinus* (*Lips.*) : senectutis *AB* 6 CNeus Tulius *ET* : GNeus iulius *A* 8 illi *Wölfflin* : Iuli *ETB* : Iulii *A* : *om. Lips.* 11 Sillanum *EA* : Syllanu *T* : Sullanum *B* 15 eum] tamen *B* 19 in *om. B* 20 acrius] ac iuris *Pichena* ultra *codd.* : ultraque *Lipsius* (*Baehrens*) 21 senatorio *C. Heraeus* : ac senatori *secl. Gudeman* 24 cautius *Nipperdey* 25 que *om. B*

qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad volup-
tates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit:
sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis,
sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formi-
3 dinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. non
sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit:
trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus;
4 tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. quae cuncta etsi
consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et
recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum
et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris
gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga emi-
nentis interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama
quam ex mala.

6 Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem degressus
Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi
iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac
robur fuit. vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam cari-
tatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore
2 tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. sors
quaesturae provinciam Asiam, pro consule Salvium Titia-
num dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et pro-
vincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem
aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset
3 mutuam dissimulationem mali. auctus est ibi filia, in sub-
sidium simul ac solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi
amisit. mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque
ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus
sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.

6 exercitatior *E* (*addito* x, *fortasse dubitationis signo*), *AB* : excitatior *Buchner* : erectior *Vielhaber*   7 intercepti *Put.* : intersepti *codd.*   15 degressus *ETA* : digressus *A*[1]*B*   19 appetendo *B*   21 proconsulem *ETA* : procōs. *B*   23 ac *EA* : et *B et sic v.* 27 proconsul *ETA*   25 auctus . . . filia *E in margine, in textu AB* : nactus . . . filiam *ET*   26 ac *ET* : et *AB*   28 transit *ETA* : transiit *B*

idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio 4
obvenerat. ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque
abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria ita famae propior.
tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda 5
diligentissima conquisitione effecit, ne cuius alterius sacri-
legium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius **7**
adflixit. nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimi- 2
lium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agrico-
lae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam
patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. igitur 3
ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a
Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partis trans-
gressus est. initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus re- 4
gebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna
tantum licentiam usurpante. is missum ad dilectus agendos 5
Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicesimae legioni
tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor
seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consulari-
bus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad
cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. ita 6
successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit
videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius quam **8**
feroci provincia dignum est. temperavit Agricola vim suam
ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eru-

1 tenor *Rhen.*: certior *codd.*, *nisi quod fortasse* rectior (?) *T*: torpor *Krueger* (*Jahrb. f. class. Phil.* 1877, *p.* 788): otium *Ritter*: terror *Urlichs*: languor *Goethe* (*ibid.*, *p.* 223) 2 medio luxuriae *B*: modo rationis *Put.*, *quem secuto Lipsio* '*subiit aliquando legere* moderationis suae atque *vel potius* moderationi satisque', *unde* medio moderationis *Gudeman* 3 proprior *B* 6 fecit *codd.*: effecit *Heinsius* 8 Intimilium *Mommsen* (*CIL.* v. 2, *p.* 900): in templo *codd.*: Intemelium *Ursinus*: Intemelios *Lips.* 13 ac] est ac *B* 14 est *om. B* 16 delectus *codd.* 18 ubi decessor] Sub decessore *Madvig*: ubi . . . narrabatur *ut glossam suspicabantur Wex*, *Nipperdey* 24 Vettius *EB*: uectius *TA* Bolanus *B*: Volanus *ETA*. *Conf. c.* 16 26 obsequii *Ritter*

2 ditusque utilia honestis miscere. brevi deinde Britannia
consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. habuerunt virtutes
spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et
discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exer-
citus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu
3 praefecit. nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis
exultavit; ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam
referebat. ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedi-
cando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

9 Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter
patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae prae-
posuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe
2 consulatus, cui destinarat. credunt plerique militaribus in-
geniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura
et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exer-
ceat: Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos,
3 facile iusteque agebat. iam vero tempora curarum remissio-
numque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis
intentus, severus et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis
factum, nulla ultra potestatis persona [; tristitiam et adrogan-
4 tiam et avaritiam exuerat]. nec illi, quod est rarissimum,
aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit.
integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria
5 virtutum fuerit. ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni
indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul
ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione ad-
versus procuratores, et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum
6 arbitrabatur. minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac
statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione

2, 3 Cerialem. Cerialis *B*: Caerialem. Caerialis *ETA* 8 in exse-
quendo *Voss, Doederlein* 10 et] sed *Draeger* 20 nullā . . .
personaṃ (*punctis pr. manu additis*) *E*: nullam . . . persona *T*:
nullam . . . personam *AB*: *corr. Rhen.* 21 effugerat *E. Wolff*:
et avaritiam *secl. C. Heraeus*: tristitiam . . . exuerat *secl. Wex* 22
deminuit *ET. Lips.*: diminuit *AB* 25 ostentanda *Rhen*: osten-
tandam *codd.* quaesiit *E* 28 ac statim *secl. Peerlkamp. Classen*

Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc ipsius sermoni-
bus, sed quia par videbatur. haud semper errat fama ; 7
aliquando et eligit. consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni
mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Bri-
tanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memo- **10**
ratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed
quia tum primum perdomita est. ita quae priores nondum
comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Bri- 2
tannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima,
spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem
Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur ;
septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto
mari pulsantur. formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, 3
Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae
scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. et est ea facies citra 4
Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama [est]: transgressis
inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam
litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. hanc oram novis- 5
simi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam
esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus
insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. dispecta 6
est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum, et hiems adpetebat. sed
mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis qui-
dem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque,
causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui

1 ipsius *ET* : suis *AB* 3 eligit *ET*, *ut correxerat Rhen.* : elegit *AB* egregiae *Put.* : graeciae *ETA* : gratae A^1 *in margine* : grate *B* iam tum *Ritter* 8 ita quae A^1*B* : itaque *ETA* 12 etiam *E*, *Put.* : et *AB* 17 in *om. A* *pro* fama *fortasse* forma *T* est transgressis : unde et universis fama sed *E*, *sed verba* unde . . . sed *per lineam atramento dissimili ductam seclusa*, al(ia)s *super* unde *scripto* : est transgressis et universis fama sed *T* : est transgressis : sed *AB* : unde et universis f. *A in marg.* : sed transgressis *Doederlein* : est transgressa, sed *Rhen.*, *Halm* : forma *defendit Leuze*, *unde* forma. sed transgressis et *Gudeman*, *coll. c.* 46. 3 18 enorme *T*, *Rhen.* : inorme *EB* : īnorme *A* 23 thyle *EA* : Thile *T* 25 perinde *Grotius* : proinde *codd.*

7 maris tardius impellitur. naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

11 Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum.
2 habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant: Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum
3 dedit. in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam in-
4 sulam occupasse credibile est. eorum sacra deprehendas *ac* superstitionum persuasione*s*: sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi
5 advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

12 In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur.

3 dominari (dñari *ET.A^m*): damnari (dãnari) *AB* 7 coluerunt *E* 10 Calydoniam *E et sic ubique*: Calyd. *T, deinceps* Calid. *vel* Calyd.: Calyd. *A*: Caled. *A*[1], *et deinceps* Caled. *vel* Calid. 12 Hispania *Muretus*: hispaniam *codd.* hiberia *E in marg.* hiberas *A* (*sec. m.*): liberas *B* 14 vi *Rhen.*: usu *codd.* 16 vicinam] vacuam *E in margine* 18 ac *add. olim Gluck* (*teste Ruperti*) *et G. F. Schoemann, denuo Gudeman* persuasione *codd.*: persuasiones *vel* -em *Glück*: persuasionem *Ritter*: pari sup. persuasione *C. Heraeus* 22 bellis *ET*: in bellis *AB* 28 trahuntur *codd.*: distrahuntur *Heinsius*

nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius 2
quam quod in commune non consulunt. rarus duabus
tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum
conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. caelum 3
crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum
abest. dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox
clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque
initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. quod si nubes 4
non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere
et exurgere, sed transire adfirmant. scilicet extrema et
plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque
caelum et sidera nox cadit. solum praeter oleam vitemque 5
et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta patiens frugum fecun-
dumque: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque
utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum caelique. fert 6
Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victo-
riae. gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia.
quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro 7
mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa
sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis
deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii **13**
munia impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre tole-
rant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. igitur 2
primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu
Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit
incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris,
non tradidisse. mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa 3
principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace:

3 tribusque *ETA*: tribusve *B* 13 fecundumque *Hedicke*: pecudumque *ET*, fecundum *in margine ET*, *in textu AB*: *ante* patiens *suppl.* pomorum *Ritter*, arborum *Doederlein*, *Eussner*: frugum patiens, fecundum *Gudeman* 17 subfusa *E in marg.*: suffusa ac liuenta *B* 18 abesse artem *T* 22 delectum *codd.*, *sed* i *superscr. E* 23 munia *ET*: munera *AB* *Hinc incipiunt vetera codicis E folia* 29 etiam] iam *B*

consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. 4 agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus 5 Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

14 Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae, 2 addita insuper veteranorum colonia. quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et 3 reges. mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra 4 annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.

15 Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam 2 ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. aeque discordiam praeposito-

1 praeceptum *in margine* E^2 *TA* : praecipue *ETA* : praeceptum .i. *B* 3 ingenii, mobilis *B* 4 auctor iterati *Wex* : auctoritate (aut *A*) *EAB* : auctor *T*, *Put.* 7 domitiẹ gentes *T* (*littera* i *post* t *expuncta*, *ut omn. Put.*) : domitiae gentes (e gentis *corr.* E^2) *E* : fuit Domitiae gentis *AB* 9 Plautius *ET* : Plantius *AB* 13 Togidumno *in margine* E^2 14 ut uetere *ETAB* (-sit ut ue *in rasura* *E*) : ut *ante* haberet *transposuit Rhen.* 16 reges *Rhen.* : regis *codd.* : et *om.* *B* parta priore E^2 *in marg.* 21 Nomam *B* 22 occansioni *E* (*et sic saepius*) 25 sapientia *B* 26 imperantur *B*

rum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. alterius manus
centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere.
nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. in proelio 3
fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et
imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus,
tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. quantulum 4
enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic
Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi.
sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et 5
luxuriam causas belli esse. recessuros, ut divus Iulius
recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur.
neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus
impetus felicibus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse.
iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem 6
absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent;
iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. porro
in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam
audere.

His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis **16**
regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt)
sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites
consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere
ut sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris [ingeniis] saevitiae
genus omisit ira et victoria. quod nisi Paulinus cognito 2
provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret;
quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus
arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius
ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera adro-

1 man' (*i.e.* manus) *E*: manus A^1: manum *AB* 2 centuriones *Rhen.*: centurionis *codd.* miscere] ciere *in marg.* E^2 5 diripi *Heinsius* dilectus *E*: de- E^3*TAB* 7 et sese *E*, *sed* et *expunctum* 13 felicibus *E* (faelicibus *T*), *quod coniecerat Novák*: *om.* *AB* 19 Boudicca *Haase*: uo adicca *ET*: bouid icta *in margine* E^2*T*: Voadicca *A*: Voaduca *B* 23 ingeniis *ET*: *om.* *AB* 26 tenentibus tamen *coni.* *Ritter*: etsi tenentibus *Nipperdey* 27 proprius *ET*, *Rhen.*: propius *AB* 28 ne quamquam *Walch*: nequaquam *codd.*: nequam (*i. e.* nequamquam, *ut videtur*) *in margine* E^2*A*

ganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius
3 consuleret. missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam
exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae
mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio
4 Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis
castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provin-
ciam tenuit. didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis
blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit
iustam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum,
5 cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebel-
lius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque
humilis precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacta exercitus
6 licentia, ducis salute, [et] seditio sine sanguine stetit. nec
Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit
Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis, similis
petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis
delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

17 Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam
recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium
2 spes. et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum
civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur,
adgressus. multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta;
magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est
3 aut bello. et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam
famamque obruisset: subiit sustinuitque molem Iulius

1 cuiusque *Wex*: eiusque *codd.*: quisque *Nipperdey* durius] dubius *E*² *in marg.* 2 missus igitur *post* agitabat § 2 *transtulit Doederlein* 4 ausus *EA*: ausis *B* 10 sed (*expunctum*) trebellius *E*: sed trebellius *T* 11 indecorus *E*, *Put.*: indecoris *TAB* 12 facta exercitus licentia ducis salute *E*: *haec expunxit et in marg. inferiore* pacti exercitus licentiam dux salutem *scr. E*². *quae verba in marg. scr. T, in textu AB* (*nisi quatenus* salute *B*), *alteram autem lectionem om. T, in marg. adscr. A*: essent *post* pacti *et* ea (*Doederlein*) *pro* et *Ritter*: esset (*vel* essent) *pro* et *Halm* 14 vettius *E*: uectius *TAB* uolanus *ETA*: Bolanus *B* 19 minutae *E* 20 Caerealis *ETA*, cerealis *B* Bregantum *codd.* (*ex* -tium *corr. A, et sic v. 23*) 23 Bregantum *ETA*, -tium *B* (*in c.* 31, 5 Brigantes *EAB*) 24 cerealis *ETB*: Caerealis *A* 25 subiit *E* (*sec. man superscriptum*) *T*: *om. AB*: *post* obruisset *lacunam primus statuerat Wex, quam olim recte explevit Halm*

Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et
pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem
hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam **18**
aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut
omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem
verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum 2
eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat,
eoque initio erecta provincia. et quibus bellum volentibus 3
erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri,
cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per pro-
vinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies,
tarda et contraria bellum incohaturo, et plerisque custodiri
suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit;
contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu,
quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante
agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit
aciem. caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instan- 4
dum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore,
Monam insulam, *a* cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum
rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in
potestatem animo intendit. sed, ut in subitis consiliis, naves 5
deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. depositis
omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada
et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos
regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui
classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum
aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. ita 6
petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agri-
cola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii

3 locorumque *B* 7 uterentur (*pro* ūter., *ut monet Andresen*) *ETA*: *corr. B* 16 degredi *ET*, *Acidalius*: digredi *AB* 17 animo *E*: *corr. E*² 20 Nomam *B* a *add. editio Bipontina* 22 subitis *ET* (*J. F. Gronovius*): dubiis *AB* 23 transuex̄ *E*: transuex̄ *T*: tranuex̄ *A*· tranare extra *B* 25 patrius *ET*, *Put.*: pr̄ius *A*: prius *B*

per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor
7 et periculum placuisset. nec Agricola prosperitate rerum
in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos
continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed
ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta
futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

19 Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus
per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae
2 sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. a se suisque
orsus primum domum suam coërcuit, quod plerisque haud
minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. nihil per
libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex
commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve adscire,
3 sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. omnia scire, non
omnia exsequi. parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem
commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia
contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non
peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent.
4 frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum
mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo
gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis
horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac luere pretio cogebantur.
5 divortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut
civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent,
donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum
fieret.

20 Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam

2 speritate *E*, pro *superscr.* E^2 8 incuriae *B* 10 primam *ETA* : *corr. B* 12 libertos *ET*, *Put.* : liberos *AB* priuatis *ETA*, *super* t *scr.* v A^1 : priuatius *B* : priuatus *in margine* E^2T 13 militesve ascire *Wex* : milites scire *scr.*, *dein* Ne *superscr.* E^1 : milites nescire *TAB* : centurionum milites ascire *Put.* 16 accommodare *Ritter* 19 exactionem *E*·*TA in margine*, *in textu B* : auctionē mac qualitate *E* (m *expunxit* E^2, *ut videtur*), *unde* auctionem inaequalitate *A* (inaequalitate *B*) : auctionem equalitate *T* : aequalitate *conicerat Put.* 20 circumcisisque *AB* 22 luere *ET*, *ut coni. Wex* : ludere *AB* 23 devortia *Lips.*

paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum
haud minus quam bellum timebatur. sed ubi aestas ad- 2
venit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare mode-
stiam, disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria
ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis
quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur;
atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis
ostentare. quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum 3
diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere et
praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, et tanta ratione cura-
que, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* inlacessita
transierit.

Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque **21**
ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et
otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare
publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando prom-
ptos, castigando segnis: ita honoris aemulatio pro neces-
sitate erat. iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus 2
erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre,
ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam
concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens 3
toga; paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum,
porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud
imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vasta- **22**
tis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus.

3 multus *ETA* : multum *A*[1]*B* 7 invitamenta *Acidalius* : irritamenta *E* (*ex* inr- *corr.*), *TAB* : incitamenta *A*[1] 10 et *codd.* (*superscr. E*[1]) : sunt *Baehrens* : *om. Rhen.* 11 pariter *add. Fröhlich, Weissenborn, et alii alia* : pars. Inlacessita transiit sequens hiems *coni. Susius* 13 adsumpta *codd.* : *corr. Rhen.* 14 bella *Bosius* : bello *codd.* quieti inotio *E* (*unde* qui et in otio *T*), et otio *E*[2] *in margine*, *AB* 17 et castigando *AB* : et *om. ET* 22 descensum *Pichena, probantibus Halm, Andresen* delinimenta *A* : deliniamenta *B* 23 balinea *EA*[1] : balnea *E*[2] *in margine*, *A* : balneas *B* : balinea *Halm*, balineas *Ritter, probante Wölfflin* 26 Tanaum *ETAB* : Taum *E*[2]*T in margine* : Taus sive Tanaus *A*[m] : Tavum *Glück* : Tavam *Nipperdey*

qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis
tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque
2 insuper castellis spatium fuit. adnotabant periti non alium
ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. nullum ab
Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut
pactione ac fuga desertum: nam adversus moras obsidionis
3 annuis copiis firmabantur. ita intrepida ibi hiems, crebrae
eruptiones et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque
desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hiber-
nis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pelle-
4 bantur. nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus
intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti
testem habebat. apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narra-
batur; *et* ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus.
5 ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium
eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

23 Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta;
ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur,
2 inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. namque Clota et
Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per inmensum revectae,
angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis
firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis
velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

24 Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si

4 ab E^2 *in margine*: *om. ET* 6 ac] aut E^2 *in margine*. *B* 7 crebrae eruptiones *codd. post* desertum *habent, huc transposuit Halm* 13 conuiuiis *A corr.* A^1 *B* 14 et ut erat *coni. Purser*: et erat ut *Henrichsen* 15 *ita distinguit A, Doederlein*: *sine distinctione EB* ut] vel *F. Jacob*: aut *Haase*: ac *Wölfflin*: et *Put.* 18 gloria *om. B* 22 propior *A*: proprior *ETB*, *cf. c.* 16. 2 24 nave prima *codd. Frustra tentaverunt alii alia*: navi in proxima *Rigler et Wex*: nave primum *Boot*: vere primo *Becker*: aestate prima *Peerlkamp*: maritima *Urlichs*: in Clotae proxima *Nipperdey*

quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam
sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii
partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit. spatium eius, si 2
Britanniae comparetur, angustius nostri maris insulas supe-
rat. solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud
multum a Britannia differunt; [in] melius aditus portus-
que per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola ex- 3
pulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat
ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. saepe ex eo
audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique
Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam pro-
futurum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu
libertas tolleretur.

Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, **25**
amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus uni-
versarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera
timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola pri-
mum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie,
cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe
isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis
et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo
silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluc-
tuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus
militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex 2
captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam
aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium claudere-
tur. ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes 3
populi magno paratu, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis,

6 differt. in melius *codd.* (*in E punctum add. man. recentior*): differunt. melius *Rhen.*: nec in melius *Acidalius*: in(teriora parum,) melius *Halm priorem Ritteri coniecturam secutus*: in melius *secl. Wex* 16 hostilis *codd.*: hostili exercitu E^2 *in margine*, *Rhen.*: hostibus *Becker* 17 timebantur *ET*, *Put.*: timebant *AB* 19 impelleretur *Rhen.*: impellitur *codd.* 20 isdem *E*: iisdem *AB* 22 ac *super* montium *scr.* E^2 27 incolentis E^1 (*super* i *scr.* e E^2) *TAB* 28 magno paratu *ET*: paratu magno *AB*

oppugnare ultro castellum adorti, metum ut provocantes
addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et ceden-
dum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium
admonebant. cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus ag-
4 minibus inrupturos. ac ne superante numero et peritia
locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu
incessit.

26 Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio uni-
versi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi,
inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus inrupere.
2 iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hos-
tium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velo-
cissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium
iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce
3 fulsere signa. ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et nonanis
rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant.
ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum
angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu cer-
tante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur.
4 quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientis texissent, debellatum
illa victoria foret.

27 Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti
suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque
tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu
2 fremebant. atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti
post eventum ac magniloqui erant. iniquissima haec
bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant,
3 adversa uni imputantur. at Britanni non virtute se victos,

1 oppugnare *E* (*ex* oppugnase *ita correctum ut* oppugnasse *legi possit*, *unde* oppugnasse *TAB*: *corr. Rhen.*) castellum *ET* A^1: castella E^2*T in margine*, *AB* 2 et cedendum E^2 *in margine*, *T*: excedendum *E*: et excedendum *AB* 15 nonanis *ET*: rom *super* non *scr* E^3, *unde* Romanis *AB* 16 rediit *Wex*: redit *codd.*, *cf.* transit, *c.* 6. 3 19 uttulisse E^1, *in* intulisse *corr.* E^2, *unde* intulisse *TAB* (*corr. Put.*) 23 penetrandum *B* 24 proeliorum *Rhen.*: proelium *ET*: praelium *AB* 27 conditio ē *AB*: condicione *E* (c *ex* t *corr.* E^3) 28 se victos *ET*: *om.* *AB*

sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex adrogantia re-
mittere, quo minus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos
in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus et sacrificiis conspirationem
civitatum sancirent. atque ita inritatis utrimque animis
discessum.

Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias con- 28
scripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memora-
bile facinus ausa est. occiso centurione ac militibus, qui 2
ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum et
rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim guber-
natoribus ascendere; et uno †remigante, suspectis duobus
eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum
praevehebantur. mox ad aquam atque utilia raptum *ubi* 3
*adpul*issent, cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium
proelio congressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad
extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox
sorte ductos vescerentur. atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, 4
amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus
habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. ac fuere 5
quos per commercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam
mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlu-
stravit.

Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno 29
ante natum filium amisit. quem casum neque ut plerique

3 et *E* : ac *AB* 7 Brittannias *E* 9 inmixti *E*, s *superscr. et in marg.* immixtis *add.* E^2, *unde* inmixtis *A*, inmistis *B* (*corr. Put.*) 11 remigante *codd.* : remigrante *Put.* : renavigante *Mützell* (*Halm*) : remeante *Henrichsen* : refugo, ante *Urlichs* : retro remigante *Gudeman* : ⟨regente⟩ remigante⟨s⟩ *W. R. Paton* : refugiente *Andresen olim* : denegante *J. Müller* 13 praevehebantur *EAB* : praebebantur *in marg.* E^2, prebe *in marg. A*, prebebantur (*in marg.* prevehe) *T* mox adquam (a *superscr.*) adq. utillaraptis secumplerisq. *E* (*divisim scripta TAB*) : cum aquatum *Eussner*, ad aquandum *Halm*, ubi ad aquam *W. Heraeus* : utilia (*vel* utensilia) *Selling* : raptum issent, cum *Eussner* (*W. Heraeus*) : *post* secum *lacunam statuit Ritter et* quae obvia egressi, et cum *supplevit* : raptum egressi et cum *Halm*, raptanda egressi et cum *Urlichs* : ubi adpulissent, cum *tentavi* 23 VII (Septimae) initio *Brotier*

fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac
maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter reme-
2 dia erat. igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis prae-
data magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu,
cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addi-
derat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis
3 insederat. nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu
et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti
commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus
4 et foederibus omnium civitatium vires exciverant. iamque
super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc
adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senec-
tus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter
pluris duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus
apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc
modum locutus fertur:

30 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor,
magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque
vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore: nam et uni-
versi co*i*stis et servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae ac ne
mare quidem securum inminente nobis classe Romana.
2 ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam
3 ignavis tutissima sunt. priores pugnae, quibus adversus
Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium
in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britan-
niae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec ulla servientium
litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis
4 inviolatos habebamus. nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos

6 Graupium *ETA*¹*B*: Grampium *Put. mero errore ut vid.* 10 civitatum *A* 11 triginta] LXXX *Nipperdey*: CXXX *Urlichs* 12 viris *E*, di *superscr.* E^3, viridis *TAB*: virens E^2 *A in marg.* 18 hod. diem *post* vestrum *scr. E, punctis notavit et super* consensumque *scr.* E^2 20 co stis et *E* (*tertia littera et superiore quartae parte macula pingui oblitis*): colitis et *T*: *om. AB* 24 ac] ad E^2 *in marg.* 26 ulla *ET*: *om. AB*

recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc
terminus Britanniae patet, atque omne ignotum pro magni-
fico est; sed nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus ac saxa,
et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obse-
quium ac modestiam effugias. raptores orbis, postquam 5
cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, mare scrutantur: si
locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non
Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque
inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. auferre trucidare ra- 6
pere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem
faciunt, pacem appellant.

'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos 31
esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur; con-
iuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugerunt,
nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. bona fortu- 2
naeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, cor-
pora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter
verbera et contumelias conteruntur. nata servituti mancipia
semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia
servitutem suam cotidie emit, cotidie pascit. ac sicut in 3
familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludi-
brio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos
et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut
metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur.
virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; 4
et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius.

1 sinus fama *Boxhorn* nunc E^2 *in marg.*, *TAB*: tum *E*: iam *Hedicke* 2 atque . . . sed *post* defendit *transposuit Brueys ap. Brotier*, *probantibus edd. fere omnibus*, *iniuria tamen, ut videtur*: *secl. Muretus* 3 ac *ET*: et *AB* 5 effugias *ET*: effugeris *AB* 6 terrae mare *E*, e *post* a *expunxit et* m et *superscr.* E^2, *unde* terram et mare *TAB* (terrae, iam et *corr. Halm*) 13 dilectus *E*, e *superscr.* E^3, *unde* delectus *TAB* 14 effugerunt *ET*; effugiant *AB* 15 fortunaeq. *E* (que, *i. e.* quae, *superscr.* E^3): fortuna eque *T*: fortunae quae (que A^m) *AB* 16 ageratq. *ET*: aggerat *AB* (ager atque *olim corr. F. Jacob*) 18 et *E*: ac *AB* conteruntur *Jacob et Fröhlich*: conterunt *codd.* 20 quottidie *AB*

ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus
5 salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina
duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in
socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et
indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam *bel*laturi,
primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia
viros seposuerit.

32 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace
lasciviam adesse creditis? nostris illi dissensionibus ac dis-
cordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt;
quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res
tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos
et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi
alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostis quam
2 servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. metus ac terror sunt
infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere
desierint, odisse incipient. omnia victoriae incitamenta pro
nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli
parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt: aut nulla plerisque patria
3 aut alia est. paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum
ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantis,
clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. ne
terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod
4 neque tegit neque vulnerat. in ipsa hostium acie invenie-
mus nostras manus: adgnoscent Britanni suam causam,
recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem, tam deserent illos
ceteri Germani quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. nec quic-
quam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae,

2 clarissima *B* 5 laturi *codd.*: bellaturi *Koch*: arma laturi *Wex*: in patientiam bellaturi *Wölfflin* 14 commodent *Put.*: commendent *codd.* 15 terror ac metus *T* sunt *Beroaldus*: est *codd.* 20 circum trepidos *codd.*: circum *ut ex* circumspectantis *ortum del. Heumann* 22 vobis *E* 26 tam deserent . . . quam *ET*: deserent . . . tamquam *E*[2] (*ut videtur*) *in marg.*, *AB* 27 necquicquam *E* (*c superscr.*) *T*, *Put.*: nequicquam *A*: nequaquam *B*

inter male parentis et iniuste imperantis aegra municipia
et discordantia. hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et me- 5
talla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum per-
ferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. proinde ituri in
aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, fremitu 33
cantuque et clamoribus dissonis. iamque agmina et armorum
fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu; simul instrue-
batur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix muni-
mentis coërcitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita
disseruit: 'septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute 2
et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera vestra Britan-
niam vicistis. tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitu-
dine adversus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus
ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque
vos ducis paenituit. ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, 3
vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non
fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa
Britannia et subacta. equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos 4
paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque
voces audiebam: "quando dabitur hostis, quando in manus
veniet?" veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in
aperto, omniaque prona victoribus atque eadem victis ad-
versa. nam ut superasse tantum itineris, evasisse silvas, 5
transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita
fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt;

1 taetra mancipia *in marg.* E^2 (*ut videtur*) *TA* 6 fremitu cantuque *ET*: cantu fremituque *AB* 8 instituebatur *in marg.* E^2A 9 munimentis *in marg.* E^2A, *B*: monitis *ETA* 11 septimus *Acidalius*: octauus *codd.* 12 et] vestra *Nipperdey* opera vestra *Put.*: op. nostra *codd.*: auspiciis imp. R., virtute et fide vestra atque *Urlichs* 20 montesque *Urlichs*: montesve aut *Britzelmayr* 21 vocem *T*, *Beroaldus* in manus ⟨veniet⟩ *scripsi*, *opitulante F. W. Hall* (*subiit etiam* cominus): animus *ET* (*dub. lectionis signum adposuit* E^3): aīus *A*, anim' *B*: acies *Rhen.*: adimus *D. R. Stuart* 23 omnia quae *ET*: omniaque *AB* 24 evasisse silvas *ET*: silvas evasisse *AB* 25 ita *Rhen.*: item *codd.*

neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia.
6 quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.

34 'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. hi sunt, quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam
2 diu superstites. quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et
3 metuentium. quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt: novissimae res et extremus metus torpore defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram
4 et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.'

35 Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque
2 ad arma discursum. instinctos ruentisque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem fir-

4 et honesta . . . potior *post* sita sunt *transtulit Nipperdey deleto* et *ante* incolumitas 12 hi *E* 14 quodque *coni. Laetus in* A^m : quoque *codd.* ruebant E^2 *in marg.* : ruebat *coniecerat Andresen.* ruerat *Urlichs* 16 ignavorum dem̃tium *E* : et metuentium E^2 *in marg.*, *unde* ign. dementium et metuentium *T*, *AB* 18 extremo metu *codd.* : extremus metus *Schoemann* 19 torpore *Schoemann* : corpora *codd.* : torpor *Ritter* : torpidam *Urlichs* et *et* aciem *del. Rhen.*, *Wex* : aciem *secl. Gudeman* 21 quadraginta (*sc.* XL *pro* L) *W. Heraeus* 22 inputari *ET*, *Put.* : imputare *AB* 23 bellandi E^2 *in marg.*

marent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. legiones
pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum san-
guinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum 3
acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constite-
rat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum
conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques
strepitu ac discursu complebat. tum Agricola superante 4
hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera
suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior
acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admone-
bant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo
pedes ante vexilla constitit.

Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque con- 36
stantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus
caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi
magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola quat-
tuor Batavorum cohortis ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est,
ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis
vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile [parva
scuta et enormis gladios gerentibus]; nam Britannorum
gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam
non tolerabant. igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire 2
umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant,
erigere in collis aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione
et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique
semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur.

3 bellanti *Rhen.* 5 agmen in aequo *Bekker*: agminae quoceteri *E* (quosteter E^2 *in marg.*) : agmine quo ceteri *TAB* 6 conuexi *codd.*: connexi *Put.*: velut conexi *vel* convexi [velut] *Nipperdey* conuinnarius *ETA*: couinarius *B* et eques *Rhen.* 8 in *Fröhlich*: simul in *codd.* latera] altera *B* 10 accersendas E^2 *in marg.* 16 quattuor *E*: quatuor *T*: *om.* *AB* 17 Batauorum E^2 *in marg.*, TBA^1 (Uataeuorum *E*, Vat. *A*) 19 uetustatenniliae *E* parva . . . gerentibus *secl. Wex* 20 nam . . . tolerabant *secl. Haase* 21 in arto *Fr. Medicis*: in aperto *codd.* 23 fodere *Gesner*: foedare *codd.* stratis *Ernesti*: tratis *EAB*, tractis *T* (foede recti trates vel traces E^2A *in marg.*)

3 interim equitum turmae, *ut* fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37 Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius
2 adcucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis
3 trucidare. iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira
4 virtusque. nam postquam silvis adpropinquaverunt, primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortis indaginis modo et, sicubi artiora erant,' partem

1 ut *add. Doederlein*: ubi (*vel* fugere enim) *Wex* couinnarii *EB*: conuinn. *A* 4 **aequa nostris iam** ***Anquetil***: equestres [i *super* e *ult. scr.* E^2] ea [ei E^2 *in marg.*, A^1] enim *codd.*: equestris ei *Andresen olim*, eq. ea iam *Haase* 5 aegre clivo instantes (*Triller et Schoemann recte, vide comm.*): aegra [egra *TAB*] diu aut stante *codd.*: aegre diu stantes *Brotier*: *alia alii* 10 expertis *EA* 15 versus *T* 18 oblatis *E, Rhen.*: ablatis *AB* 20 praebere E^2 *in marg.* 23 nam *ante* primos *ET*: item *obelo in margine adposito A* (*quod alii aliter emendaverant*): item *B*: nam *transposuit Andresen, in* iam *mutavit Hedicke* 24 gnari *Dronke*: ignari *codd.*: ignaros *Put.* 26 *post* modo *lacunam notavit Nipperdey, et* instruxisset *supplere voluit*: circumdedisset *add. H. Strache* (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1913. 28)

equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persul-
tare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam
foret. ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus 5
videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius
alium respectantes: rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua
atque avia petiere. finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. caesa 6
hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta ceci-
dere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, iuvenili
ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Bri- 38
tanni palantes mixto virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere
vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram
ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere
in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi
aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. satisque con- 2
stabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam
misererentur. proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit:
vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta,
nemo exploratoribus obvius. quibus in omnem partem di- 3
missis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari
hostis compertum (et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum ne-
quibat), in finis Borestorum exercitum deducit. ibi acceptis 4
obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit.
datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque
equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa trans-
itus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. et simul classis 5
secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit,
unde proximo Britanniae latere praelecto omni redierat.

1 equitem persultare *Rhen.*: equite persultari *ETA*: equites perlustrari *B*: equitem perlustrare *Urlichs*: perscrutari *Cornelissen*, *probante Halm* 4 versi *E*, *Put.*: uersis *AB* 5 sed rari *Bipontini* 10 Britanni (-tt- *E*) *ET*, *Put.*: Britannique *AB* 11 mixto *ET*: mixtoque *AB* plorato *E* 12 notare *T* 14 aliqua *secl. Classen*, *Wölfflin* 18 secreti] deserti *Ernesti* 22 Horestorum *Put.* reducit E^2 *in margine* 24 pedites *aut* equitem *Gudeman* 27 trucculensem *ETA*: trutulensem E^2 *in marg.*: Trutu A^m: trutulens est *B* 28 proximo anno *Madvig* rediret (*vel* reditura erat) *idem* prelecta *E*: prelecto TA^m: lecto E^2 *in marg.*, *AB* omnis *E*

39 Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut erat Domitiano moris, fronte 2 laetus, pectore anxius excepit. inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crinis in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot mili- 3 bus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principem attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. 4 talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

40 Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum 2 morte Atili Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum eo praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. 3 tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam

2 auctum *Lips.* : actum *codd.* ut erat Domitianus *ETA*ᵐ : ut erat Domitiano moris *in margine* *E²T* : ut Domitiano moris erat *A* : ut Domitianus erat *B* 3 excepit *Put.* : excipit *EA* : caepit *B* 5 crinis *codd.* : crines *Put.* 8 principem *ET*, *ut coni. Sipp.* : principis *AB* 10 et cetera *AB* : et *om.* *ET* *deleverat Wex* 12 quoque *E*, d *superscr.* *E²* 13 praesens *E²* *in marg.* 14 excitus *B* 21 Atilli *ET* : Atili *A* 22 *Post* missum *desinunt vetera codicis E folia* 24 eo *ET* : *om.* *AB* Britannia *Put.* : Britanniam *codd.* : Britannia etiam *coni.* *Halm*

tutamque. ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. ceterum uti militare nomen, grave 4 inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, **41** absens absolutus est. causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. et ea 2 insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. ita cum damna damnis continuarentur 3 atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem, constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine aliorum. quibus sermonibus satis constat Do- 4 mitiani quoque auris verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem extimulabant. sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

4 turbae *om. B* 7 hausit *Wex*: auxit *codd.* 16 Moesia *E*: Mesia *T*: Misia *AB* 18 totis *ET*: tot *E in marg.*, *AB* 19 possessionum *B* 23 et *ante* constantiam *add. B* inertiae et formidini *in marg. EA* 24 eorum *codd.*: aliorum *edd. Bipontini*: ceterorum *Grotius*: *lacunam notavit Bach*, *et* quibus exercitus committi solerent *supplevit Halm* 27 deterioribus principem *om. T* 28 in ipsam gloriam] ipsa gloria *Madvig*

42 Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agri- 2 colam interrogarent. ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque per- 3 traxere ad Domitianum. qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. salarium tamen proconsulare solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat 4 videretur emisse. proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani 5 iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum *nisi* ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

43 Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora

1 Asiae et Aphricae *B* 7 iam *Rhen.* : tam *codd.* obscuris *E* 8 simulationis *in marg. EA, superscr. T* 9 audivit *T* 10 amnuiset *E* 11 proconsulare (i *superscr.*) *E, ut coniecerat de la Bletérie* : *e an* i *scripserit T incertum* : proconsulari *AB* : proconsuli consulari *Mommsen* 19 moris est *post* mirari *T* 21 eorum laudes excedere qui *Wex* escendere *Lips., probante Halm* plerique qui *J. Müller* 22 enisi *post* abrupta *add. Heumann, post* usum *Schoemann, pro* sed *substituit C. Heraeus* : enisi tantum *post* usum *inser. W. Heraeus* : nisi *scripsi* nullum rei publicae *Muretus* (*Ursinus*) : ullum rei post *EAB* : nullum re p *in marg. EA* : ullum (*in marg.* nullum) reipublicae *T*

et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agri-
colae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. augebat miseratio- 2
nem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil com-
perti, *ut* adfirmare ausim. ceterum per omnem valetudinem
eius crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis
et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura
illud sive inquisitio erat. supremo quidem die momenta 3
ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat,
nullo credente sic adcelerari quae tristis audiret. speciem
tamen doloris animi vultu prae se tulit, securus iam odii
et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. satis con- 4
stabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae
uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum
velut honore iudicioque. tam caeca et corrupta mens adsi-
duis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi
heredem nisi malum principem.

Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule idibus **44**
Iuniis: excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimum
kalendas Septembris Collega Prisc*in*oque consulibus. quod 2
si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior
quam sublimior fuit; nihil impetus in vultu: gratia oris
supererat. bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.
et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis 3
ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit.
quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat,
et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud
adstruere fortuna poterat? opibus nimiis non gaudebat, 4

2 oblitus *Muretus*: oblitus est *codd.*: oblitus . et *Wex* 3 interceptum *T* nobis nihil comperti *om. T* 4 *ante* adfirmare *add.* quod *Acidalius* (quod firmare *Henrichsen*), quodve (*vel* aut quod) *Ritter*, nec *Ernesti*. ut *Wex* (ut *post* adf. *Halm*) 8 dispositos *om. T* constabat *ET, Rhen.*: constabant *AB* 10 animi vultu *Baehrens*: animo uultuque *codd.*: habitu vultuque *Ernesti*: nimii vultu *Stuart* 17 tertium *Ursinus*: ter *codd.*: iterum *Nipperdey* 18 quarto *Petavius*: sexto *codd.*: quinto *Nipperdey* decimo *AB* 19 Prisco *codd.* 21 impetus *ETA*: metus *in marg. ETA*: metus et impetus *B* 27 opibus . . . contigerant *post* peregit *transposuit Gudeman*

speciosae [non] contigerant. filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente 5 fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. nam sicut ei *non licuit* durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

45 Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. una adhuc victoria Carus Mettius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius iam tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus *foedavit*; nos innocenti sanguine 2 Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed

1 *ita distinxit Rhen., post* superstitibus *AB* : *sine distinctione ET* non *ET AB* : *om. EA in margine* filia . . . superstitibus *post* fama *transtulit Doederlein. post* amicitiis *Urlichs* 2 beatis *E* 4 sicuti durare *codd.* : sicut ei non licuit *Dahl* : sicut iuvaret *Müller* : non contigit *post* videre *H. Schütz* hanc . . . lucem *Acidalius* : hac . . . luce *codd.* 5 quod] quondam *B pontum* : quondam *Ritter* : quod *secl. Rhen.* 6 grande] grave *in marg. EA sed del. A* 9 velut] vel *in marg. E* 10 clusum *ETA* : clausum *B* 13 carus Mitius (*in marg.* Mettius) *ET* : charus mitius (Mettius *A*) *A* arcem] villam *in marg. ETA* 14 Bebius *EA* : Boebius *B* etiam tum *ET* (*J. F. Gronovius*) : iam tum *A* : tum *B* 16 Maurici Rusticique visus *codd.* : horrore *add. Henrichsen* : pudore *Draeger* : *verbum, velut* foedavit, *excidisse videtur* : Mauricum (Mauricium *A*) Rusticumque divisimus *ETA in marg.*, *quam coniecturam admodum infelicem recte iudicasse videtur Helm* 21 quo *Lips.* : a quo *codd.*

etiam opportunitate mortis. ut perhibent qui interfuere
novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum ex-
cepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi
donares. sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis 4
erepti auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere
deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. ex- 5
cepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo
figeremus. noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam
longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est.
omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima 6
uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis
comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid
oculi tui.

Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, 46
non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide
quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et
muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum
voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. admiratione 2
te potius et immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppe-
ditet, similitudine colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctis-
simi cuiusque pietas. id filiae quoque uxorique praece- 3
perim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia
facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram
animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia inter-
cedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere fingun-

1 perhibent *Put.* : perhiberent *codd.* interfuere *ET*, -unt *AB* 6 contingit *T* excepissemus *Acidalius*, *Pichena* : excepissem *codd.* 8 pingeremus *ET in margine*, *A*[1] tam *TA* : tum (a *superscr.*) *E* : tum *A*[m] 9 longae *T*: longe (a *superscr.*) *E* : longa (e *superscr.*) *A* : nostrae *B* est] es *Rhen.* 11 tamen *AB* : tum *E* 12 compositus *in marg. EA* 16 nosque et *Urlichs* 19 te *superscr. E* et (te *Lips.*) immortalibus *Acidalius* : temporalibus (temporibus *E in marg.*) et *ET* : temporalibus *A* (*obelo in marg. adposito*), *B* 20 similitudine *Grotius* : militum *ETA* : multum *B* : aemulatu *Heinsius* : imitando *Pichena* colamus *Muretus* : decoramus *codd.*, *nisi quod fortasse* -emus *T* : decoremus *Ursinus* : te colamus *Gudeman* honor *E* 23 formamque *T*, *Muretus* : famamque *EAB*

tur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse
4 moribus possis. quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum: nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

6 in fama *Halm* 7 obruit *Haupt*: obruet *codd.* Cornelii Taciti de vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae liber explicit *E*, *sed* et moribus *om. vetus folium* (*vide ad inscriptionem*)

INDEX NOMINVM

Numeri capita et sectiones indicant

NOTES

CHAPTER I

§ **1. antiquitus usitatum**, 'a custom of the past'. The use of a past participle or adjective, in apposition to the object or subject, instead of a relative clause, is frequent in Tacitus. On Roman biography, see *Introd.*, p. xxii, and on the argument of cc. 1–3, ibid., p. xxi.

quamquam incuriosa suorum: the analogy of *vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi* in *A.* 2. 88, 4, where the reference is to Arminius, suggests that *suorum* here is neuter, though elsewhere Tacitus uses the substantival *sua* only in the accusative. *Quamquam* is very rarely used in classical prose, but often by Tacitus, with an adj. or part. without a finite verb: cp. c. 16, 2; 22, 1.

aetas: personified, as γενεά often is.

virtus, instance of merit in an individual.

vicit ac supergressa est, 'has overcome and surmounted'. The latter verb is post-Augustan. On the frequent accumulation of virtual synonyms in this work, see *Introd.*, p. lxxv.

ignorantiam recti et invidiam, 'blindness to rectitude and jealousy'. The use of the singular *vitium* implies that these are two aspects of one vice, related as cause and effect. The common sort cannot understand an exalted character, and hate its eminence. *Ignorantia* (cp. c. 32, 3) is very rare in classical prose.

§ **2. memoratu**: a rare supine, occasionally used by Tacitus and Livy.

pronum magisque in aperto, 'easy and with a freer field', metaphors virtually synonymous, and taken from a favourable course, in opposition to what is *arduum* and *impeditum*, 'uphill and full of obstacles'. Cp. c. 33, 4.

celeberrimus = *clarissimus*, chiefly a poetical and post-Augustan use. The sense is as if he had written *ita scribere pronum erat, nam celeberrimus quisque*, &c.

sine gratia aut ambitione, 'without partiality or self-seeking'. An author might falsify history to please friends or to gain some object. Cp. the contrast in *A.* 6. 46, 4, *non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteros ambitio.*

bonae . . . conscientiae, 'consciousness of well-doing', i.e. of having fulfilled the historian's duty *ne virtutes sileantur* (*A.* 3. 65, 1). Such expressions as *bona* or *mala conscientia*, in which the adjective has the force of an objective genitive, approach nearly to the modern 'conscience': cp. Sen. *Ep.* 43, 5, *bona conscientia turbam advocat, mala etiam in solitudine anxia atque sollicita est.* For *pretium* in the (originally poetical) sense of *praemium*, cp. c. 12, 6, &c.

§ 3. **ac plerique**, 'nay, many': cp. c. 36, 2. In the following words (as elsewhere) two sentences are combined, (1) that they wrote their own lives, (2) that they did not consider it arrogance, but confidence in their own worth to do so. They felt that they had a just claim on the appreciation of their hearers.

Rutilio: P. Rutilius Rufus, cos. 105 B.C., a distinguished soldier and orator and a Stoic, highly praised by Cicero (*de Or.* 1. 53, 229, &c.) and Velleius (2. 13, 2). He was condemned in 92 B.C. by an equestrian jury for alleged extortion in the province of Asia (an act of revenge for the protection he afforded to the provincials against the exactions of the equestrian tax-farmers), and he retired as an exile to the province he was alleged to have plundered, fixing his residence at Smyrna, which adopted him as a citizen (*A.* 4. 43, 7). His fortitude in adversity is often extolled by Seneca.

Scauro: M. Aemilius Scaurus, cos. 115 B.C. and 107, censor 109, and many years *princeps senatus*, a great leader of the aristocracy, but an enemy of Rutilius (see *A.* 3. 66, 2), and described in very opposite terms by Cicero and by Sallust (*Jug.* 15, 4). His autobiography is mentioned by Cicero as valuable, but no longer read (*Brut.* 29, 112). It is, however, cited by Val. Max. 4. 4, 11, and mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* 33. 1. 21.

citra fidem, 'beneath credibility', i.e. 'unworthy of belief'. A contrast with *fiduciam* is perhaps intended. *Citra* is used as nearly equivalent to *sine* by Ovid, Seneca, Quintilian, and the elder Pliny, &c., and by Tacitus in his minor works only. Cp. *extra*, c. 8. 3, and the English idiom 'beyond belief'.

aut obtrectationi, 'or matter of censure', as contrary to good taste.

adeo, &c., 'so truly does the age most fruitful in excellence also best appreciate it.' Cp. the sentiment in *H.* 3. 51, 3, and *simplex admirandis virtutibus antiquitas* (Sen. *Cons. ad Helv.* 19, 5).

nunc, 'in these times', of the present age generally (§ 1) as opposed to the past (*apud priores*, § 2).

narraturo, &c., 'when about to relate the life of a man who is dead', one removed from the envy and jealousy of the present (cp. *A.* 4. 35, 2), in contrast to the examples of men who wrote their own lives, and published them in their lifetime.

venia opus fuit, 'I must crave indulgence', lenient criticism, for the choice of an unpopular subject (see below). The perf. *fuit* is better taken as referring, like the epistolary past, to the time of writing (cp. *A.* 4. 5, 6 *persequi incertum fuit*; 3. 65, 1 *exsequi haud institui*) than as implying that the first chapter is a kind of *veniae petitio*. *Fuerit*, though an easy emendation (merely supposing the loss of a stroke in the MSS.), is not required.

quam non petissem incusaturus. The reading and punctuation here have been much discussed. *Incusaturus* must answer to *narraturo*, which is antithetical as implying eulogy, and must mean *si incusaturus fuissem*. Logic requires a stop after *incusaturus*, for

the following words give the reason for the preceding statement; and there is an obvious balance between this and the previous sentence. With this punctuation, the natural object of *incusaturus* is that of *narraturo* (*vitam defuncti hominis*): cp. Pliny, *Ep.* 7. 31, 6 (A.D. 107) *cum plerique hactenus defunctorum meminerint ut querantur*. But taken absolutely, the participle gives an excellent sense: 'had invective been my purpose'. The sentiment is general: *obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur* (*H.* 1. 1, 3). With the punctuation here given, Valmaggi would take *venia* to mean pardon for the delay in writing the eulogy, which Tacitus would not have had to ask under Domitian (*tam saeva*, &c.), had he been about to play the accuser (*Riv. di filol.*, 1918, p. 216 ff.). This interpretation is not commended either by the Latin or by the context.

The MSS. punctuation gives a feeble sense and cannot stand in face of the facts, (1) that Tacitus has already been attacking the times, and (2) that an invective against Domitian's times follows in the next chapter and elsewhere. The punctuation of the MSS. is often unintelligent. The emendations with *ni* do not give a satisfactory meaning in connexion with the immediate context.

tam saeva, &c., sc. *sunt*: the present age is still hostile to merit (cp. § 1, *nunc* above, and preceding note). For *tam* so used at the beginning of a sentence, with the force of *adeo*, cp. Juv. 13, 75, *tam facile et pronum est*, and Plin. *Ep.* 5. 20, 4 *tam longas . . . periodos contorquent*. That the praise of others excites jealousy and hate is a commonplace with writers of panegyric.

CHAPTER II

§ **1. Legimus** (probably present), 'it stands on written record' that to praise a dead man has been a capital offence. The record would no doubt be found in the *acta senatus*, possibly also in the *acta populi*, but in these Domitian sometimes suppressed mention of trials (Dio, 67. 11, 3). It has been thought strange that Tacitus should refer to a written authority for events so notorious and recent, hence such emendations as *exegimus*, *egimus*, &c. (with *tempora*). It is not, however, the fact that these men were executed, but the definite and formal charge against them that he thus desires to place beyond question.

Aruleno Rustico: a Stoic philosopher, mentioned as tribune at the time of Thrasea's trial, and as offering to exercise his *intercessio* (*A.* 16. 26, 6), also as praetor in A.D. 69. He was put to death in or after A.D. 93, for having in his biography called Thrasea *sanctus* (ἱερός, Dio, 67. 13, 2): cp. Suet. *Dom.* 10, who erroneously makes him also the biographer of Helvidius (*quod . . . laudes edidisset, appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros*). For the dative of agent, cp. c. 10, 1.

Paetus Thrasea: the great leader of the Stoic Opposition under

Nero, forced to suicide by him in A.D. 66. On his character and end, see *A.* 16. 21-35, and Furneaux, *Annals*, vol. ii, *Introd.*, pp. 80 ff.

Herennio Senecioni: a friend of the younger Pliny, associated with him in accusing Baebius Massa (Plin. *Ep.* 7. 33, 4), afterwards accused by Mettius Carus *quod de vita Helvidii libros composuisset* (id. 7. 19, 5), at the same date as Rusticus. The book was preserved by Fannia, wife of Helvidius (Plin., l. c.)

Priscus Helvidius, the elder, son-in-law of Thrasea, banished when the latter was put to death (*A.* 16. 33, 3), restored under Galba and made praetor in A.D. 70 (*H.* 4. 4, 5; 53, 3), and prominent at that time in the senate, banished again and afterwards put to death by Vespasian, perhaps about A.D. 73-74 (Suet. *Vesp.* 15). On his son, see c. 45, 1.

saevitum: sc. *esse*. This fact would also be recorded in the *acta*.

triumviris: sc. *capitalibus*. These officers, who formed one section of the minor magistrates collectively called *vigintiviri*, superintended the infliction of capital punishment. The duty assigned to them here would appear from *A.* 4. 35, 5 to have belonged to the aediles, and its delegation to lower officers who superintended executions seems a mark of insult.

in comitio ac foro. The *comitium* was the space at the north-western end of the Forum adjoining the Senate-house and separated by the *Rostra* from the Forum. It was the meeting-place of the old *Comitia Curiata* and the ancient place for trials and punishments (Liv. 9. 9, 2, &c.; Plin. *Ep.* 4. 11, 10), and for the burning of condemned books (Liv. 40. 29, 14). The addition *ac foro* (cp. *ficus arbor in foro ipso ac comitio Romae nata*, Plin. *N. H.* 15. 18, 77), emphasizes the public character of the place chosen.

§ **2. libertatem**, freedom of judgement.

conscientiam, 'the moral consciousness of mankind', not merely their knowledge or remembrance (*memoria*). A similar judgement is expressed in *A.* 4. 35, 6 *praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam.* There, however, Tacitus is referring to the preservation of such books in spite of these precautions: here he is expressing the futility of the attempt to suppress the free moral judgement of men.

arbitrabantur. The subject (Domitian and his advisers) is supplied from the sense.

expulsis: aoristic abl. abs., adding another fact (cp. c. 14, 3, 4; 22, 1; 23, 2, &c.). An expulsion of philosophers by Domitian, attested by several writers, is connected by Suet. (*Dom.* 10) and Dio (67, 13, 3) with the execution of Arulenus Rusticus (see above), and is stated by Pliny (*Ep.* 3. 11, 2) to have taken place in his praetorship, which is placed in A.D. 93. The statement in Eusebius, *Chron.*, that there had been a previous expulsion of philosophers and astrologers in the year Oct. 88-Sept. 89 (not elsewhere alluded

to), if not due to confusion with the expulsion under Vespasian, would indicate that a certain number of them were charged with complicity in the revolt of Saturninus (see c. 41, 2, note).

atque, &c.: a repetition in substance of the previous clause. Wölfflin observes that Tacitus, following Sall. (*Cat.* 10, 4; *Jug.* 1, 3), uses *bonae artes* of high moral qualities, *malae* of their opposites, and *artes civiles*, *honestae*, *ingenuae*, *liberales* of intellectual accomplishments (*Philologus* 26. 139). But *bonae* seems also to have this latter meaning (e.g. *A.* 6. 46, 2); and the higher teaching of philosophy was regarded as a moral influence: cp. Plin. *Pan.* 47, *cum . . . inimicas vitiis artes . . . relegaret.*

§ **3. patientiae**, 'submissiveness': cp. c. 15, 1; 16, 2.

ultimum, 'the extreme'. The times referred to are ancient only by comparison, the reference being to the lawlessness of the later Republic.

nos: sc. *vidimus.*

inquisitiones, 'espionage': cp. c. 43, 2. The description of the terror produced by such a system under Tiberius in *A.* 4. 69, 6 is probably coloured by reminiscences of this time.

loquendi . . . commercio, 'the intercourse of speech and hearing', the interchange of ideas. It was a crime not only to have spoken, but to have listened.

CHAPTER III

§ **1. nunc**: since Domitian's death (a narrower sense than in c. 1, 4).

redit = *redire incipit.*

et, 'and yet', as often: cp. c. 9. 3; 15, 4, &c. The correction to *set* is here extremely easy, but we have a very parallel use of *et quamquam*, with the force of *quamquam autem*, and with *tamen* (as here) marking the apodosis, in c. 36, 3 and *H.* 2. 30.

The subjunctive of facts with *quamquam*, very rare in prose before Livy, is very common in Tacitus.

primo statim: coupled for emphasis.

saeculi ortu. The new period is imagined as rising like a star (cp. c. 44, 5).

Nerva Caesar, &c. For the absence of the title *divus*, which need not imply that he was still alive, see *Introd.*, p. xix. The language is complimentary to Trajan, as he remained absent from Rome till A.D. 99.

olim, 'long since': cp. *H.* 1. 60, 1 (with Heraeus' note); *A.* 2. 62, 2, &c.

dissociabilis: used elsewhere in the sense of 'separating' (Hor. *Od.* 1. 3, 22), or 'separable' (Claudian, *Ruf.* 2. 238); whereas the meaning here required is that of 'incompatible', *insociabilis* (*A.* 4. 12. 6; 13. 17, 2), which Novák would read. The word is nowhere else used by Tacitus. Maxa compares the force of the prefix in *displicere* and *dissimilis.*

principatum ac libertatem, 'personal government and constitutional liberty'. An inscription dated on the day of Nerva's election (Sept. 18, A.D. 96) was erected on the Capitol by *S.P.Q.R.* to 'Libertas Restituta' (*CIL.* vi. 472, Dessau 274). Cp. the expression of Pliny (*Ep.* 9. 13, 4), *primis diebus redditae libertatis*. What people meant by *libertas* at this period was freedom from the unlimited despotism of a Nero or a Domitian, *sine fine dominatio* (*H.* 4. 8). Cp. *H.* 1. 1, 5 *rara temporum felicitate*, &c.; *adsertor libertatis* of Iul. Vindex in Plin. *N. H.* 20. 14, 160; &c.

felicitatem temporum, a phrase used in *H.*, l. c.; Plin. *Ep. ad Trai.* 12, and on coins, where the goddess *Felicitas* is often mentioned and figured with the titles *F. temporum* (*saeculi, publica*) or more commonly *F. Augusti*, *Caesarum*, &c., the Emperor being the author and guarantor of the prosperity of the State (cp. Suet. *Aug.* 58).

nec spem, &c.: a rhetorical and obscurely phrased expression for 'our prayers for the security of the State are now in process of fulfilment'. 'Public security has not merely framed hopes and prayers, but has gained the assurance of her prayers' fulfilment and strength therefrom' (or 'a strong assurance of . . .'). With the first clause some word like *conceperit* is supplied by zeugma. *Fiduciam ac robur*, balancing *spem ac votum*, may be a hendiadys, but *robur* seems rather to add the idea of strength, reassurance, gained from the fulfilling of the prayer. Furneaux's interpretation 'has received the actual substance of what it prayed for' gives to *voti robur* a meaning for which there seems to be no real parallel and which is unsuitable both to *adsumpserit* and to the general sense.

Securitas publica (*rei publicae*, *temporum*, &c.) or *Secur. Augusti*, a personification of the public and political security which the world owed to the imperial government, was deified like *Felicitas* and other abstract ideas. To *Securitas* vows were offered (Dessau 2933, 3788), altars erected (*CIL.* xiv. 2899), and sacrifice made, e.g. on Jan. 10, A.D. 69 after Piso's adoption (*CIL.* vi. 2051, i. 30); and she is figured on coins of Otho and Vitellius and the emperors of the following centuries. Tacitus, while alluding to this current conception, does not go beyond the personification.

tardiora, 'slower to act'; so *tarda legum auxilia* (*A.* 6. 11, 3).

subit, 'comes over us', used absolutely after Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 560; 575, &c.). Elsewhere Tacitus has *quippe* in this position only in the *Annals*, but there very frequently.

§ **2**. **quid, si**, &c.: a rhetorical formula introducing a new and stronger argument, usually either putting a parallel case or asking what will be the consequence if something else should come to pass, but here asking what must be the consequence of a past event. 'What if we have lost not only the inclination, but (by the destruction of the fittest and by disuse) even the power to write?' The answer is left to be supplied. Some editors (including Andresen) begin a new sentence with *pauci*, but the words *grande* . . .

spatium logically belong to the main thought *pauci . . . superstites sumus*, and are repeated in *exemptis* &c., as Wex pointed out.

quindecim: the whole reign of Domitian, A.D. 81-96. His policy of repression is elsewhere noticed before his last and worst period (c. 39, 3); nor is this inconsistent with the generally good character of his early government as described in Suet. 9.

fortuitis, a word often used of natural in contrast to violent deaths; cp. *A*. 4. 8, 1, &c.

promptissimus: sc. *ingenio*, 'the most active minds,' such as Rusticus and Senecio.

pauci et, &c. The construction is *pauci superstites sumus et* (= *et quidem*, cp. c. 10, 4; 20, 3, &c.) *non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri*. *Et* is necessary, for without it the words would imply that there were other survivors who had not outlived their faculties; nor can any reason be discerned for the insertion of *et* by a copyist.

ut ita dixerim. *Uti dixerim* of the MSS. cannot be satisfactorily defended. The form here given is found in Quint. 9. 4, 61, and Plin. *Ep*. 2. 5, 6, and is nearer to the manuscript text than *ut sic dixerim*, which Wölfflin (*Philol*. 26. 139) prefers, as being used not only by these writers, but everywhere else by Tacitus himself. Both *ut ita dixerim* and *ut sic d.* are modifications in the silver age of the classical *ut ita dicam*, and all are used to qualify a strong expression.

nostri superstites: an expression used (also with a qualifying word) in Sen. *Ep*. 30, 5, *vivere tamquam superstes sibi*. 'We have outlived our faculties'.

exemptis, 'taken out', as in *A*. 3. 18, 1 (where it is perhaps used with simple abl.). Elsewhere Tacitus uses this verb with dative.

iuvenes, &c. By old Roman law a man passed from the *iuniores* to the *seniores* after his forty-fifth year (Gell. 10. 28, 1); after his fiftieth year he was not liable for military service (Sen. *de brev. vitae*, 20, 4); after his sixtieth he was not required to attend the Senate (Sen., l. c.). Tacitus himself had passed from about his twenty-sixth to his forty-first year under Domitian.

exactae aetatis terminos, 'the limit of spent life', i. e. the end of life's course. Cp. *H*. 3. 33, 2.

per silentium: used in *A*. 4. 53, 1, &c., with merely the sense of *silens*, but here like *per cultum* in c. 4, 2; or possibly with instrumental force = *silendo*, to imply that they only saved their lives by silence: cp. the use of 'per' in c. 6, 1; 40, 4; 46, 3.

§ **3. non tamen pigebit**, 'yet (in spite of the difficulties which beset me) it will not be an unpleasant task' (= *iuvabit*). In *A*. 1. 73, 1, a possibly distasteful subject is prefaced by *haud pigebit referre*.

vel incondita ac rudi voce, 'even in a rough and unpolished style', i. e. though historical composition is well-nigh a forgotten art. Such expressions are used of the rough style of archaic writers: cp. Gudeman on *Dial*. 18, 2; 21, 3.

memoriam, &c., 'to have put together a record of our past slavery'. The past tense is best taken, with Andresen, as looking to the time of publication. He compares the similar passage in Livy's preface (§ 3), *iuvabit tamen . . . consuluisse*; also *non paenitebit curasse* (Quint. 1. 1, 34). The passage shows that, soon after Nerva's accession, Tacitus had formed the project of writing the *Histories*, not, however, quite in the form in which they appeared. The work is spoken of as intended to be, if not a monograph on Domitian, at least chiefly a history of his rule; and, though he could not at that early date have projected a history of Nerva, still less of Trajan, a *testimonium* of the happy change inaugurated was to come in as an epilogue and contrast. By the time the work was published, it had grown into a complete history from Galba to Domitian; and the great subsequent era of Trajan, with the career of conquest opened out by it, was relegated to a separate work (*H.* 1. 1), and ultimately abandoned.

interim does not involve any implication that the *Agricola* belongs to the same branch of literature as the projected historical work (as has often been stated). It is a precursor merely in point of time. *Introd.*, p. xxi, n. 3.

honori . . . destinatus: the biography is professedly eulogistic, cp. *Introd.*, p. xxi f.

professione, &c. Cp. *pietate . . . excusatus*, *H.* 2. 60, 4. The context would seem to connect this with the previous apology for any want of finish in style, but the plea that his work is an act of dutiful affection is intended as a further deprecation (cp. c. 1, 4) of the jealousy roused by the praise of others. For the general dislike of a picture of exalted virtue, cp. *A.* 4. 33, 6, and Seneca, *de vita beata*, 19, 2 *quasi aliena virtus exprobratio delictorum omnium sit*.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. Cn. Iul. Agricola: one of three cases where Tacitus gives all the *tria nomina* together (Macke, *Eigennamen bei Tacitus*, p. 1).

vetere, &c. This a good example of the growth of a new aristocracy under the early empire. See *Introd.*, Sect. IV.

Foroiuliensium: Fréjus, *Octavanorum colonia, quae Pacensis appellatur et Classica* (Plin. *N. H.* 3. 4, 35), owing its foundation to Julius Caesar and its importance to the naval station established there by Augustus (*A.* 4. 5, 1), Marquardt, *Staatsv.* i. 264. On the date of Agricola's birth there, June 13, A.D. 40, see c. 44, 1 and note.

Caesarum, i.e. of more than one Caesar, doubtless Augustus and Tiberius.

quae equestris nobilitas est, 'an office which is the patent of equestrian nobility'. The tenure of the greater procuratorships, held by *equites* after serving as officers in the army, such as those carrying with them the government of lesser Caesarian provinces, or the control of finance in the greater provinces (see c. 9, 5 and

note), or in groups of provinces, was considered to confer nobility on their holders, just as in Republican times the attainment of curule office by plebeians gave nobility to their families. Such *equites* are designated by Tacitus *equites inlustres* or *insignes* (in contrast to *equites modici*) and by the younger Pliny *equites splendidi*. The distinction was entirely unofficial. Cp. Mommsen, *Staatsr.* iii. 563.

senatorii ordinis. From an allusion to his *ludi* in Sen. *de Ben.* 2. 21, 5, it may be inferred that Graecinus reached the praetorship, as Urlichs suggested: cp. c. 6, 4 note. The cognomen belongs also to the Pomponii (see *A.* 13. 32, 3, and note). The concise genit. of quality is common in Tacitus and is found also in Caes. and Livy. Cp. *A.* i, *Introd.*, p. 52, § 34; Draeger, *Syntax u. Stil des Tac.*, § 72.

studio, &c. He is called *vir egregius* in Sen., l. c., and *Ep.* 29, 6, and besides being an orator and philosopher, is mentioned in Col. 1. 1, 14, as author of a treatise 'de vineis', *composita facetius et eruditius*. See *Introd.*, p. xxxiv. It seems probable that the *cognomen* of 'Agricola' given to his son reflected his interest in agriculture (Hirschfeld, *Wien. Stud.* v. 120).

namque: explaining the opportunity taken to gratify his spite. Seneca rhetorically says of Graecinus, *quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum quod melior vir erat quam esse quemquam tyranno expedit* (*de Ben.* 2. 21, 5). As Wex suggested, the tense of *abnuerat* implies an interval between the order and the death of Graecinus; and as Agricola was born on June 13, A.D. 40 (c. 44, 1), his father cannot have died before Sept. 13, A.D. 39, and probably not before Agricola's birth, since the son is not called *postumus*. Urlichs thought he may have perished when Gaius returned from Gaul in A.D. 40 (not later than May 29, *CIL.* vi. 2030, 15), and this is very probable. The direct cause of his death can hardly have been that stated by Tacitus, since it is most unlikely that punishment would have been delayed for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. But he had doubtless been in disfavour all that time, and this contributed to his condemnation. Cp. Willrich, *Klio*, iii, p. 436.

M. Silanum: the father of the first wife of Gaius (*A.* 6. 20, 1), consul (suff.) in A.D. 15. He is said to have incurred the jealousy of Gaius as proconsul of Africa (*H.* 4. 48, 3), and he was compelled to suicide (Suet. *Cal.* 23; Dio, 59. 8, 4). His death took place early in A.D. 38: a successor to him was co-opted by the Arvales on May 24 of that year (*CIL.* vi. 2028 c, 35).

§ 2. mater. On her death, see c. 7, 1. On the name Procilla, which is frequent in Gaul, see *Introd.*, p. xxxiv.

sinu indulgentiaque, best taken as hendiadys: 'under her loving care'. *Indulgentia* has often a bad sense, but is used of parental tenderness in several places. For a mother thus to bring up her child herself instead of putting it out to nurse is spoken of as an old custom becoming uncommon: cp. *Dial.* 28–29 with

Gudeman's notes, also Juv. *Sat.* 14 and the contrast suggested by Tacitus in *G.* 20, 1 (Marquardt, *Privatleben*, 58. 5).

per omnem, &c., 'by a course of training in all liberal studies' (see c. 2, 2, note). On the liberal arts, as then understood, see *Dial.* 30, 4, where five (geometry, music, grammar, dialectic, ethics) are expressly mentioned. *Per* often denotes the mode in which time is spent: cp. c. 3, 2; 18, 6.

§ **3. peccantium**: aoristic, with the force of a noun. Cp. c. 11, 2, &c., and Draeger, § 207. A few instances are found in classical prose.

bonam integramque naturam, 'his good and stainless disposition'. Cp. *sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta . . . natura*, *Dial.* 28, 7.

Massiliam. Cicero speaks strongly of the *disciplina* and *gravitas* of this city (*pro Flac.* 26, 63), and Strabo, in a very interesting description of its condition at his time (4. 1, 5, p. 179-81), says that the best Romans preferred it to Athens as a place of Greek culture (rhetoric and philosophy), which he ascribes to its greater simplicity of life. Massilia reflected the manners of old Ionia, as French Canada reflects those of old France.

comitate, 'courtesy', refinement of manners, opposed to *adrogantia* (*H.* 1. 10, 3), or roughness generally (cp. *A.* 4. 7, 1).

provinciali parsimonia. Cp. *A.* 3. 55, 4; 16. 5, 1.

mixtum, &c., 'presenting a blend and happy combination': the latter expression lays stress on *bene*, and such a concise use of *mixtus* for *in quo mixta sunt* resembles *H.* 1. 10, 3; *A.* 6. 51, 6.

§ **4. philosophiae**. Tacitus, as Wölfflin notes, generally uses *sapientia* and *sapiens*, substituting *philosophia* or *philosophus* only here and in *A.* 13. 42, 6 (for variation in the same passage) and in *H.* 3. 81, 1.

acrius: to be taken as an adverb defined by the following words. The correction *ultraque* rests on the supposition that *q.* dropped out before *q̃*, i. e. *quam* (as it might very easily), but seems unnecessary, though the asyndeton is perhaps a little harsh.

concessum. The old Roman antipathy to philosophy, noted apologetically by Cicero (*vereor ne quibusdam bonis viris philosophiae nomen sit invisum*, *Off.* 2. 1, 2), still survived and rested on its drawing men away from active life: cp. *ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret* (*H.* 4. 5, 2) and *a philosophia eum* (Neronem) *mater avertit, monens imperaturo contrariam esse* (Suet. *Ner.* 52). Cp. Friedländer[6], iv. 294. Soon after Agricola's youth, Stoicism, as the creed of Thrasea and his political partisans, became especially obnoxious to Nero, whose advisers represented it to him as actively mischievous (*A.* 14. 57, 5), a charge combated by Seneca (*Ep.* 73, 1). Cp. *A.* ii, *Introd.*, p. 83 ff.

senatori: appropriately specifying the governing class *par excellence*, is used in an anticipatory sense of a future senator, like *sic imbui rectorem generis humani* (*A.* 3. 59, 5) and *produxisse*

principes liberos (*Dial.* 28, 6; cp. Gudeman's note). Senators' sons belonged, like other *laticlavii*, to the equestrian order till the tenure of the quaestorship gave them a seat in the Senate, but they were described as belonging to the *ordo senatorius*, in the sense of 'senatorial class' (*A.* 13. 25, 2 compared with Suet. *Ner.* 26; Mommsen, *Staatsr.* iii. 466).

hausisse, 'would have imbibed', often used figuratively both by earlier authors and by Tacitus (cp. c. 40, 4). In direct speech *hauriebat* would probably have been used, the indicative in this tense having constantly the force of a subjunctive to denote what was on the point of happening, but for some hindrance (cp. *A.* i, *Introd.*, p. 57, § 50; Draeger, § 194).

§ **5. sublime et erectum**, &c. Synonyms are again accumulated: 'his lofty and elevated mind craved the beautiful ideal of great and sublime glory' (that of a life spent in contemplation of the noblest ideas). The second word generally strengthens the first. For *species*, cp. Cic. *Or.* 5, 18 *species eloquentiae quam cernebat animo.* The phrase is better taken as a hendiadys than as meaning 'beauty and splendour.'

vehementius quam caute. We should expect *cautius* (cp. c. 44, 2, &c.); but we have a parallel in *H.* 1. 83, 3, *acrius quam considerate.* It is perhaps analogous to other uses of positive for comparative in Tacitus (as *A.* 2. 5, 2; 4. 61, 1, &c.), and possibly here, as Wex thought, a more decisive negation is implied.

ratio, 'discretion': cp. c. 6, 4.

modum: probably best taken in the sense of μεσότης, 'balance', a temperament preventing him from being carried into extremes of thought or action, like some members of the Stoic opposition. Cp. *est modus in rebus*, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1, 106. Tacitus here strikes the key-note: moderation is throughout the prominent trait of Agricola's character.

CHAPTER V

§ **1. castrorum rudimenta**, 'apprenticeship in camp life': cp. *castrorum experimentis* (c. 16, 4) and the poetical use of *belli rudimenta* (Virg. *Aen.* 11, 156). He was *tribunus militum* (§ 2), the tenure of which office was, from the time of Augustus, a necessary qualification for admission to the quaestorship and senate (Suet. *Aug.* 38). The duties were mainly administrative.

Suetonio Paulino: cp. c. 14–16. This famous officer is well known both from the *Annals* (14. 29–39) and the *Histories* (1. 87, 3, &c.). He had previously won distinction in Mauretania in A. D. 41–2, and was consul (suff.) soon afterwards, perhaps in A. D. 42. His memoirs are noted in Plin. *N. H.* 5. 1, 14. The term *moderatus* may refer to the discretion which led him to be regarded as *cunctator natura* (*H.* 2. 25, 2).

adprobavit = *effecit ut probarentur*, a concise combination of

two statements, that he performed his first service under Paulinus, and to his satisfaction. Cp. the use of *adprobare* in c. 42, 2.

electus = *nam electus est*, aoristic (timeless) participle, giving the proof of the preceding statement. The choice was an indication of the approval already won by the young officer, not a means of testing his capacity (see next note).

quem contubernio aestimaret. Agricola was picked out by Suetonius 'to be appraised, to have his merits assessed, at *contubernium*', i.e. employment on the general's staff (abl. of value). In other words, Suetonias selected him for work at head-quarters to express his estimate of his merits. The construction is similar to *delectus cui . . . Antonia . . . in matrimonium daretur* (*A.* 4. 44, 3). A tribune would not ordinarily be attached to the head-quarters' staff: he would be subordinate to the *legatus legionis*. Agricola's selection was due to his proved efficiency in routine duties (cp. Pliny, *Ep.* 7. 31, 2). The interpretation 'having been selected to be tested by attachment to head-quarters' (which takes *electus* as equivalent to *postquam electus est*) is unsuitable and inconsistent with the conditions prevailing under the Empire. Agricola's position was quite different from that of young men of rank appointed by provincial governors of Republican times as members of their suite (*contubernales*, *comites*, *amici*). Such *comites* (not all young men) were civilians; in Imperial times they were still chosen by senatorial governors (but in other cases were probably nominated by the Emperor) to assist in the work of administration, especially as judicial assessors, and were paid a salary (Pliny, *Ep.* 6. 22, 2; Fronto, *Ep.* 8; *CIL.* x. 7852; Digest i. 22, 4, &c.; Mommsen, *Staatsr.* ii. 245; Marquardt, *Staatsv.* i. 533).

§ 2. nec Agricola, &c.: equivalent to *et Agricola neque*, as in c. 8, 3 and 18, 7 to *et . . . non*. In the construction of the following words, the supposition that *egit* is to be supplied with *licenter* (cp. c. 19, 2; *H.* 1. 84, 1) is inadmissible when it has to stand in contrast with another verb, and its insertion or the omission of *neque segniter* are very violent methods of procedure. It is quite possible to refer *rettulit*, &c., to both clauses, and to take the whole to mean 'and Agricola did not either wantonly ("at his own sweet will"), like young men who turn military service into self-indulgence, or indolently (i.e. did not either from love of amusement or dislike of work) regard his title (rank) of military tribune and his inexperience as a ground for taking pleasure and furlough'. *Voluptates* seems to correspond to *licenter* (explained by *in lasciviam*)—since *lascivia* means 'gaiety', as in *A.* 11. 31, 6, *H.* 2. 68, &c.—and *commeatus* to *segniter*; *et* being used for *aut* (as in c. 22, 2 *ac fuga*) because *voluptates* and *commeatus* are parts of one idea, pleasure taken on the spot and on leave. Others take *et* as explanatory. In any case the thought is somewhat confused, for *licenter—in lasciviam* involves *segnitia*, and *segnitia* implies love of amusement (*lascivia*, *voluptates*).

Referre ad, 'to regard as a means to pleasure', is similar to

Cicero's use (with *voluptatem* in *Lael.* 9, 32, and often in his philosophical writings), 'to judge by the standard of', 'to regard as the end'. *Titulus* does not imply that the office was 'titular', but means 'distinction' (here 'distinguished position', rank): cp. *H.* 1. 71, synonymous with *gloria* in 1. 75, and Livy, 7. 1, 10; 28. 41, 3. The demoralization of the service by the constant purchase of furloughs and exemptions is dwelt upon in *H.* 1. 46, 3–6.

noscere . . . nosci. The infinitives are historical.

in, 'for the sake of' (cp. c. 8, 3, and note). **ob,** 'by reason of'; *propter* in this sense was avoided by Tacitus, as being a popular word (Löfstedt, p. 219, see *Introd.*, p. lxxx, n. 2).

simulque: coupling *agere* to the other verbs.

et anxius et intentus, 'both with caution and alertness'. The former word (apparently nowhere else so used) denotes that he did not despise his enemy, the latter that he was alert to seize an opportunity.

§ **3. non . . . alias:** often so used emphatically at the beginning of a sentence, apparently after Virgil (*G.* 1, 487).

exercitatior, 'more troubled', is probably what Tacitus wrote here, though elsewhere he uses the word in a very different sense (c. 36, 1; *A.* 12. 12, 2; 14. 59, 3). *Exercitatus* has the meaning of 'troubled' in Cicero, *de Rep.* 6, 26 (with *curis*), Hor. *Epod.* 9, 31, and Petronius 83 (absolutely). It seems therefore unnecessary to substitute *excitatior* (used by Livy, 4. 37, 9, Pliny, *N. H.* 37. 7, 106, and Quint. 9. 3, 10; 12. 10, 49).

in ambiguo, 'in uncertainty', its possession trembling in the balance.

coloniae: probably a rhetorical plural, referring only to Camulodunum (Colchester). It is most unlikely that the word is used to include other towns, not colonies (as London and Verulam), which suffered also. The *veterani* were the colonists. On the events, see *A.* 14. 32.

intercepti. *Intersepti*, the reading of the MSS., would mean 'isolated' (cp. *H.* 3. 21, 2; 53, 2). *Exercitus* is often used of separate legions. But the account in the *Annals* makes no reference to isolation, and shows that the second legion was not isolated. The emendation *intercepti*, 'cut off' (as in c. 28, 4 and 43, 2) is far more forcible, and agrees with the account in the *Annals.* The reference is to the destruction of the Ninth legion (*A.* 14. 32, 6), and *exercitus* is a rhetorical plural, like *coloniae.*

de salute, &c. Cp. c. 26, 3.

§ **4. alterius.** This genitive is constantly used for *alius* to avoid the ambiguity of that form: cp. c. 17, 3.

summa rerum. Best taken (with Andresen) to mean 'the decisive result' (cp. *summae rerum expectatio*, Caes. *B. C.* 1. 21, 6), i.e. the success of the operations, like *summa belli* in *A.* 2. 45, 5, further defined by the following words, *recup. . . . gloria.* It could also be taken to mean 'the supreme direction of affairs' (as in *H.* 2.

33, 4) or 'the general plan (situation)', as in *H.* 2. 81, 4, if some such meaning as 'devolved upon', or 'rested with', were supplied by zeugma from *cessit in.* Maxa (unconvincingly) took it as *summa gloria rerum et recuperatae provinciae.* For *cessit in* 'passed to', 'fell to', cp. *A.* 1. 1, 3, &c.

artem et usum, 'skill and experience'. Cp. *scientia atque usus militum*, Caes. *B. G.* 2. 20, 3. *Addere stimulos* is not a new phrase (Lucan, 1. 263), but the verb is used also with *spem, metum*, &c. in the sense of *dare*.

cupido. In the minor works of Tacitus this word occurs here only, the more popular *cupiditas* four times; the latter is rare in *Hist.* and never found in *Ann.*, while *cupido* is very common in both.

temporibus, abl. The later years of Nero are referred to (*sub Nerone temporum* c. 6, 3), and the chief instance in the writer's mind is no doubt that of Corbulo.

sinistra, 'unfavourable'. Cp. *sinistra fama*, *H.* 1. 51, 8, &c.

erga, 'against', or 'in relation to', a sense common in Tacitus and very rare before him. See *A.* i, *Introd.*, p. 60, § 59: Draeger § 98.

ex magna . . . ex mala. On the alliteration, cp. *Introd.*, p. lxxxvi.

CHAPTER VI

§ 1. **degressus** (cp. c. 18, 3) is used of departing from a place, as *digredi* of parting from a person. As Urlichs suggested, Agricola probably left with his chief towards the end of A.D. 61, and may have held the *vigintiviratus* (p. 42) in 62.

natalibus: used of ancestry in the silver age by Tacitus, the younger Pliny, Juv., &c. Her father Domitius Decidius, probably (like his son-in-law) a native of Gallia Narbonensis, is shown by an inscription (*CIL.* vi. 1403, Dessau 966) to have been one of the first *quaestores aerarii* chosen by nomination of Claudius (in A.D. 44, *A.* 13. 29, 2; Dio, 60. 24, 1), and to have been afterwards praetor (by the same ordinance). Probably the marriage took place in 62, and the son (§ 3) was born in time to enable Agricola to gain a year under the provisions of the *lex Papia Poppaea*, so as to stand for the quaestorship at the end of 63, in his twenty-fourth year. See Appendix I.

decus ac robur, 'gave distinction and substantial help'. Probably Wex and Urlichs are right in referring *decus* to the illustrious family of his wife, *robur* to the advantage derived from his marriage and paternity under the *lex Papia Poppaea* (previous note).

vixeruntque mira concordia, &c. For instances of Roman conjugal affection cp. Val. Max. 4. 6, 1-5; Plin. *Pan.* 83; and inscriptions, Dessau 8441 ff.: the portraits of satirists must not be taken as typical. *Concordia* is modal abl., and *per . . . anteponendo* seems best taken as expressing the instrumentality by which the concord was maintained. On this use of *per*, see on c. 3, 2.

in vicem se anteponendo, 'preferring one another', each giving the preference to the other. As a rule, *in vicem* is used, without *se*, for the classical *inter se*, 'each other' (which is also found in Tacitus, *A*. 3. 1, 3, &c.), e.g. c. 37, 5 *vitabundi in vicem*; *A*. 13. 2, 2 *iuvantes in vicem*. But *se* is sometimes added, e.g. *Dial*. 25, 5 *in vicem se obtrectaverunt*, Plin. *Ep*. 3. 7, 15, and other examples quoted by Gudeman on *Dial*. l. c.

nisi quod, 'were it not that', 'only': an expression often used to qualify something that has been stated (cp. c. 16, 6, &c.), and sometimes, as here (cp. *A*. 1. 33, 5, &c.), to qualify something implied in a previous statement. Here the implied thought is difficult to supply, but appears to be: (both being equally praiseworthy): only, a good wife wins higher praise (than a good husband), just as a bad wife incurs greater blame (than a bad husband). The good wife's merit is greater because her sex is weaker (*A*. 3. 34, 9) and she fulfils perfectly her whole duty, whereas more is required of a man than being a good husband. A bad wife has no other capacity in which she can redeem herself and goes to greater lengths of wickedness than a bad man (cp. *A*. 3. 33, 3; 4. 3, 3, &c.). Tacitus, as Kritz noted, pays a compliment to his mother-in-law, who was still alive (c. 46, 3).

§ **2. sors quaesturae**, &c. One of the quaestors of the year was allotted to the proconsul of each senatorial province. L. Salvius Otho Titianus, the brother of the emperor Otho, and prominent in the first two Books of the *Histories*, had been consul A.D. 52, and it appears that his proconsulship of Asia fell in the year A.D. 63–64. (Cp. Appendix I.) Agricola was quaestor in the latter year; and would, as Urlichs showed, have served only a part of the year under Titianus, and the remainder under the upright Antistius Vetus (cp. *A*. 16. 10, 2). Tacitus omits this fact, so as not to weaken the contrast (p. 166).

neutro = *neutra re*. So *nullo* in *A*. 3. 15, 4.

parata peccantibus (sc. *esset* from below), 'lying ready for wrong-doers', through the temptations of its wealth and works of art, and the facility of finding tools for iniquity. Cp. *materia . . . audenti parata*, *H*. 1. 6 *fin*. Cicero (*ad Q. F*. 1. 1, 29) congratulates his brother, who had held that proconsulship for three years, on having abstained from all plunder and preserved his integrity *in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia*, and he uses similar language elsewhere.

quantalibet: here alone in Tacitus; first in Livy and Ovid.

facilitate, here in a bad sense, 'connivance'. In a good sense, c. 9, 4.

redempturus esset, &c., 'was ready to purchase a mutual concealment of misdeeds': cp. *H*. 4. 56, 4.

§ **3. auctus est**: so used of the growth of a family in *A*. 2. 84, 3; Cic. *Att*. 1. 2, 1. Here the marginal reading of the best MS. is obviously the better. On the daughter, see c. 9, 7. His wife,

therefore, accompanied him to the province (cp. also c. 29, 1), a custom which had been attacked (*A.* 3. 33-34), but was not forbidden.

in subsidium: by giving him the privileges of a parent (see note below, § 4, and above on § 1).

solacium, 'consolation', perhaps in the sense of 'compensation': cp. c. 44, 5; *H.* 1. 77, 4, &c.

inter . . . tribunatum plebis: best taken as an adjectival phrase qualifying *annuum* (= *eum qui erat inter* &c.), like *sub Nerone temporum*; although it might mean 'the interval between', as in *G.* 28, 2 *inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes*, 'the country between the forest and the rivers'. In either case a somewhat harsh construction is preferred to the repetition of *annuum*.

quiete et otio: modal abl. These synonyms recur in c. 21, 1; 42, 2. Agricola's tribunate fell in the year A.D. 66, in which Arulenus Rusticus, one of his colleagues, with less discretion contemplated exercising his veto in the trial of Thrasea (see on c. 2, 1). *Transiit* for the normal *transegit*.

sub Nerone, equivalent to an adjective: cp. *inter quaesturam* &c. above and c. 16, 1.

inertia pro sapientia. In those times Memmius Regulus was *quiete defensus* (*A.* 14. 47, 2), and Galba made his real indolence pass for prudence (*H.* 1. 49, 6). Pliny speaks similarly of his own times *suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio* (*Ep.* 8. 14, 7).

§ **4. praeturae**. This office again might be held after the interval of a year, and fell in Nero's last year (A.D. 68): cp. *sequens annus* (c. 7, 1). The normal age for the praetorship was 30, but another year would be remitted to Agricola on account of the birth of a daughter; cp. note on § 1.

tenor. This emendation of Rhenanus (for the MSS. *certior*) has not been improved upon by later editors; and, given a script like that of *E*, *tenor* might be corrupted to *cerior* and then to *certior* (*c* and *t* (ꞇ) are easily confused, cp. *Togidumno* for *Cogidumno*, c. 14; *notare* for *vocare* c. 38, 1; *Vectius* for *Uettius*, cc. 8, 16; also c. 34, 3). That the word is not elsewhere used by Tacitus is by no means a decisive objection: several words in the *Agricola* are used nowhere else by him. Nor is it necessary to have a word more akin in meaning to *silentium*, as in *quiete et otio* above. *Tenor* is used, with or without a genit. (e.g. *vitae*) by Augustan poets and Livy; and *et silentium* would be explanatory, or would make a hendiadys like *honore iudicioque* (c. 43, 4). 'His praetorship had the same quiet course'. *Torpor* is palaeographically less easy and seems unsuitable. Of the other emendations none can be considered probable.

nec enim, &c. *Iurisdictio*, strictly speaking, belonged only to the *praetor urbanus* and *peregrinus*, though in a less technical sense to several others. But under the Julio-Claudian dynasty the whole number amounted sometimes to eighteen, some of whom had no judicial duties of any kind (Dio. 60. 10, 4; Mommsen, *Staatsr.*

ii. 203). Urlichs suggested that he probably was one of those who had charge of a city region (cp. *Staatsr.* ii. 516).

ludos. The *cura ludorum*, in old times partially devolving on praetors, was wholly assigned to them by Augustus in 22 B.C. (Dio, 54. 2, 3), and became one of their most prominent functions (*Staatsr.* ii. 237, n. 1).

et inania honoris, 'and (other) vanities of office': cp. c. 13, 1, *A.* 1. 5, 3, where a general expression is similarly added to a particular.

medio . . . duxit. The meaning is that in giving his games Agricola steered a middle course between reasonable economy and extravagance. *Duxit* for *edidit* is a rhetorical experiment in the art of expression (*Introd.*, p. xviii), on the analogy of *ducere pompam* or *funus*, and *medio* is an abl. of direction, as Andresen explains, comparing Virg. *Aen.* 4, 184 *volat caeli medio terraeque.* 'He conducted in a course midway between'. Any emendation which takes *duxit* in the sense of *arbitratus est*, such as Peerlkamp's *media rationis* 'he considered to be intermediate between', would seem to require the addition of *esse oportere*, or words to that effect.

rationis atque abundantiae, 'between reasonableness (judicious economy) and lavishness'. Such a genit. with the force of *inter* is used with *medius* by Tacitus elsewhere (*A.* 1. 64, 7) and by poets (Virg. l. c. &c.). *Abundantia* is elsewhere used in the sense of large supply rather than large expenditure (cp. c. 33, 5), and the use of *ratio* is a little obscure. One would expect *ratio* to denote the extreme opposite of *abundantia*, i.e. parsimony. In this case it would have to be explained as 'exact calculation', as in the sphere of accounts, which is an unlikely use. Probably *ratio* is not the extreme opposite (any more than *fama* is the extreme opposite of *luxuria*), but means 'reasonable economy', which Agricola exceeded without being extravagant. So apparently Andresen, who takes the opposite to be the idea of limitation implied in *ratio* and made clear by the context. A similar meaning would be given by *moderationis*, but the emendation is unnecessary and Tac. is not likely to have used here a word which elsewhere expresses the characteristic virtue of Agricola.

uti . . . ita = 'while . . . yet', as often.

longe a = *procul a*, c. 9, 5, 'far removed from'.

famae propior, 'coming near to (popular) distinction'. *Propior* is common in this sense (= *iuxta*), the contrasted idea being sometimes unexpressed (*A.* 6. 42, 3; 16. 35, 1; *G.* 30, 3). *Fama* indicates the standard of expenditure expected by popular opinion, *fama popularis* rather than *fama apud prudentes* (distinction won by the avoidance of vulgar extravagance). In either case the biographer is making much of nothing.

§ **5. tum**, &c. This commission was given to him while he was still praetor. After the fire, Nero had repaired the loss of works

of art in Rome by the pillage of temples throughout the empire (see *A.* 15. 45. Suet. *Ner.* 32), which is the *sacrilegium* here referred to. But no restoration of this plunder took place (as the concluding words of this sentence show). It is clear, therefore, that Agricola was commissioned to inquire into other misappropriations of temple treasure by individuals during the fire or afterwards. In early times we hear of a special board appointed for such a *conquisitio* (cp. *triumviri sacris conquirendis donisque persignandis* Liv. 25. 7, 5). In the imperial age the temples and their property were under the care of a board of two *curatores aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum*; it is recorded that, while holding this office, Vitellius committed many thefts from temples (Suet. *Vit.* 5). Urlichs suggested that this was the office to which Agricola was appointed by Galba, but it is much more probable that his commission was a special one.

ne = *ut non*, as in *A.* 14. 11, 2; 28, 3, &c., and in classical Latin. The MSS. reading *fecit ne* may be compared with *factum ne* (Cic. *Verr.* 5. 2, 5), *faciet ne* (Ov. *ex P.* 1. 1, 65), but *effecit*, a very easy emendation, accords with the usage of Tacitus. For the genit. *alterius* cp. c. 5. 4.

sensisset. The force of the pluperf. is 'that it was as though the State had never felt'. A very similar instance is cited from Plin. *Pan.* 40 *effecisti ne malos principes habuissemus*, implying that Trajan had blotted out the memory of past misgovernment.

CHAPTER VII

§ **1. Sequens annus**: the famous year of the four emperors, A.D. 69. Tacitus often thus personifies *annus* (c. 22, 1), *dies*, &c.

§ **2. classis.** The dispatch of this fleet, probably about March, is described in *H.* 1. 87, and its raid upon Liguria in *H.* 2. 12–15.

Intimilium, shown to be the correct form of the name by Mommsen. This town, the modern Ventimiglia, 17 miles east of Nice, is called Albintimilium in *H.* 2. 13, 1, Ἄλβιον Ἰντεμέλιον in Strab. 4. 6, 2, p. 202.

Liguriae, &c. Cp. the similar explanatory parenthesis in c. 22, 1, and *Ingauni* (*Ligurum ea gens est*) in Liv. 28. 46, 9.

causa caedis. The narrative in *H.* l. c. says that the naval troops sated their greed by the ruin of the innocent. Any resistance to robbery caused bloodshed.

§ **3. adfectati . . . imperii**, 'aiming at the empire'. Vespasian's *primus principatus dies* was July 1, on which day the legions at Alexandria took the oath in his name, as did those of Judaea in his presence on the 3rd (*H.* 2. 79, 1).

deprehensus, 'was overtaken': cp. c. 34. 3. One of the early acts of Vespasian's party was to send letters to Gaul (*H.* 2. 86, 7).

in partis, &c. Forum Iulii was occupied for Vespasian by the procurator, Valerius Paulinus, about October (*H.* 3. 43, 1).

§ 4. **initia**, &c. Mucianus, governor of Syria since A.D. 67, entered Rome at the end of the year, just after the death of Vitellius (on or soon after Dec. 21), when the city was in a state of anarchy: see *H.* 4. 11, 1. He held no formal magistracy at that time.

iuvene admodum. He was eighteen years old. Tacitus uses the same expression of himself at the professed date of the *Dialogus* (1, 2). The profligacy and licence of Domitian at this time are described in *H.* 4. 2, 1; 39, 2. He was made praetor at the beginning of A.D. 70, Vespasian being then in Egypt, Titus in Palestine.

fortuna, 'imperial rank' (cp. c. 13, 5, and note).

§ 5. **ad dilectus agendos:** early in A.D. 70 and probably in Italy, primarily to fill up the newly constituted *legio II Adiutrix* (*Introd.*, p. lxxiv). When a *dilectus* was held in Italy (which appears to have been extremely rare), commissioners of senatorial rank were appointed (see *Staatsr.* ii. 2, 850). In the provinces the duty was discharged by the governor, or by equestrian officers called *dilectatores*.

integre, 'with rectitude', allowing no one to buy exemption from service.

vicesimae: one of the legions engaged in the first invasion of Britain, quartered at this date, as afterwards, at Deva (Chester): p. lxxviii. It is strange that the province is not mentioned till the next chapter; but it is difficult to suppose (with Ritter) that *in Britannia* has dropped out after *transgressae*. Agricola's appointment as *legatus legionis* was made later in A.D. 70.

tarde. It appears from *H.* 3. 44, 2 that the only British legion forward to accept Vespasian was the Second, which he had commanded in the original expedition.

ubi decessor, &c. *Ubi* = *apud quam*, a Tacitean usage, cp. *A.* 1. 40, 1 and *H.* 3. 31; and *decessor* is used, as here, of a retiring official in correlation to *successor* in Cic. *pro Scauro*, § 33. The retiring legionary legate was Roscius Coelius, and the *legati consulares* were the governors Trebellius (A.D. 63–69) and his successor Vettius Bolanus; see c. 16, 4–6. Tacitus gives the report which reached Rome, and modifies it: the legion, indeed, was too much even for consular governors, and its commander, a man of praetorian rank, was unable to restrain it, whether his inability was due to his own or to the soldiers' character. Tacitus suspends judgement, but in c. 16 he ascribes the outbreak of mutiny to the demoralizing effects of idleness, and the continuance of the mutinous spirit under Bolanus to the same cause. In *H.* 1. 60 we have a detailed account of the later stages of the mutiny, based perhaps on later information. There it is stated that the feeling against Trebellius was inflamed by Coelius, who had long been his enemy, and that in the end the troops took Coelius' part and drove Trebellius from Britain. Trebellius charged Coelius with *seditio*, but Vitellius retained him

in his command. His later behaviour is not recorded. Probably he tried to restore discipline under Bolanus, but failed to quell the spirit of mutiny which his previous actions had encouraged (Nipperdey, *Rhein. Mus.* 18. 350 ff.). His attitude towards Vespasian, to whom the Twentieth legion was reluctant to swear allegiance, is unknown. In A.D. 81 he attained the consulship under Titus.

There are no good grounds for rejecting *ubi . . . narrabatur* as a gloss (with Nipperdey) or *ubi decessor* (with Wex), nor for reading *Sub decessore* with Madvig, who proposed further violent changes (*Adv. Crit.* ii. 566).

legatis . . . consularibus. The governors of such Caesarian provinces as contained two or more legions, were always of consular rank, in accordance with the old Republican principle that two legions formed an *exercitus consularis.*

nimia: as in English 'too much for', 'too strong'; so in Vell. 2. 32, 1 Pompeius is called *nimius liberae reipublicae.*

legatus praetorius. The commanding officer of a legion (*legatus legionis*) was regularly one who had been or was qualified to be praetor.

§ **6. moderatione**: Agricola's characteristic virtue, here 'modesty', in making light of his success in restoring discipline. Less probably 'clemency', in afterwards treating the soldiers as though they had always been loyal (not in putting down insubordination, a meaning excluded by *fecisse*): cp. *H.* 2. 29, 6; *A.* 12. 49, 4, &c.

CHAPTER VIII

§ **1. Vettius Bolanus**: sent out by Vitellius after Trebellius fled to him (*H.* 2. 65, 4). He had been *legatus legionis* in the East under Corbulo (*A.* 15. 3, 1), was cos. suff. about A.D. 66–68, and afterwards proconsul of Asia, as stated in a poem of Statius to his son Crispinus (*Silv.* 5. 2, 56–58). His government of Britain is similarly represented as inactive in c. 16, 6; *H.* 2. 97, 1. It should be noted that *legio XIV* was absent from Britain in A.D. 69 except for a few months, and was withdrawn finally in 70, being replaced by *legio II Adiutrix* in 71; cp. *Introd.*, p. lxxiv. Statius (l. c. 143–149) credits him with warlike deeds and the foundation of *castella*; but the language is obviously poetical.

feroci, 'warlike': cp. *ferox gens*, *H.* 1. 59, 1.

dignum, 'suitable'. Cp. *improbis viris digna*, Plaut. *Bacch.* 3. 4, 9. Normally Tacitus omits the copula (*esse*) with *dignus*, but it is designedly inserted here: without it *fuit* would have to be supplied, and this would limit the sense unduly.

ne increscerct: sc. *ipse*, 'not to become too prominent'. The verb, found here alone in Tacitus, occurs first in Virgil, then in Livy, &c.

peritus . . . eruditus: here alone with inf. in Tacitus. But the

former is so used in Virg. *Ecl.* 10, 32, &c., the latter in Plin. *N.H.* 33. 11, 149. Ritter's emendation *obsequii*, for *obsequi*, would be in accordance with c. 42, 1, &c., but is needless.

utilia honestis miscere, 'to combine interest with duty' (honourable conduct); not so to push his own reputation as to forget due subordination to his superior. Shrewd deference in general was a characteristic trait of the middle class to which Agricola belonged, sharply marking off the new nobility from the proud and stubborn Senatorial aristocrats of older time (*Introd.*, p. xxxiii, and note on c. 39, 4).

§ **2. Petilium Cerialem.** He had commanded the Ninth legion in its disaster in Britain during the rising of Boudicca in A.D. 61 (*A.* 14. 32, 6), and in the civil war he took up the cause of Vespasian, who was related to him (*H.* 3. 59, 4), was cos. suff. probably for a short time in A.D. 70, and was immediately afterwards sent to put down the rising of Civilis (*H.* 4. 68, 1, foll.). After his government of Britain (A.D. 71–74: see c. 17, 2; *Introd.*, pp. liv f.), he was again cos. suff. in May, A.D. 74. His full name is Q. Petilius (or Petillius, Dessau, no. 1992) Cerialis Caesius Rufus.

habuerunt virtutes, &c., 'Agricola's qualities had now scope for display'; *exempla* are deeds worthy of being taken as examples, as in *A.* 13. 44, 8, &c. Cp. the sentiment on the appointment of Corbulo, *videbaturque locus virtutibus patefactus* (*A.* 13. 8, 1).

in experimentum, 'to test him': cp. *in famam*, below.

ex eventu, 'on the strength of his success'. For *eventus* in the sense of successful result, cp. c. 22, 3, &c.

§ **3. in**, 'with a view to', as often in Tacitus. Cp. *in iactationem*, c. 5, 2; 10, 1, &c.

ad auctorem, &c. For the adversative asyndeton cp. c. 10, 4; 37, 5, &c. Agricola is represented as speaking, not of his achievements (*gesta*), but of the success (*fortunam*) attending plans due to the originator and leader, whose instrument (*minister*) he had been. A similar principle of loyalty is noted among the Germans, *G.* 14, 2.

extra: cp. the use of *citra* in c. 1, 3, &c.

nec = *nec tamen*: cp. c. 19, 3, and the use of *et* for *et tamen* (c. 3, 1, &c.); Draeger, § 113.

CHAPTER IX

§ **1. Revertentem.** Agricola returned from Britain either in A.D. 73 or with Cerialis early in 74. Probably the present tense implies that the elevation to the patriciate took place immediately on his return: cp. *ingredienti* (c. 18, 6); *respondens* (*H.* 2. 4, 3), &c. In other places it has a more aoristic force: cp. *A.* i, *Introd.*, p. 58, § 54; Draeger § 207.

inter patricios adscivit: for the technical *adlegit*. The old power to co-opt new patrician *gentes* into the *curiae* had been long

obsolete, and the patriciate became a gradually diminishing body, from which a few very ancient priesthoods (those of *rex sacrorum*, the Salii, and the three *flamines maiores*) had still to be filled up. Partly to provide for these, partly to widen the prestige attaching to the oldest Roman nobility and to pay a compliment to distinguished men and families, the patriciate had been granted to individuals by Julius Caesar and Augustus, under special enactment, and by Claudius and Vespasian, as a censorial function analogous to that of choosing senators. The elevation of a citizen of Gaulish birth to this rank is noteworthy (*Introd.*, Sect. IV).

Aquitaniae. The part of Gaul originally so called lay between the Garonne and the Pyrenees (Caes. *B. G.* 1. 1, 2), but the province as constituted by Augustus extended northwards to the Loire. See Marquardt, *Staatsv.* i. 266.

splendidae inprimis dignitatis: concise genit. of quality, with abl. of respect added. All the *tres Galliae* were Caesarian provinces under *legati* of praetorian rank, and were among the most important of that class. Galba had held Aquitania just before his consulship (Suet. *Galb.* 6), and several others are known to have done so.

administratione, 'in respect of its functions'.

spe consulatus cui destinarat: sc. *eum*, an omission characteristic of Tacitus (cp. c. 42, 3: Gudeman on *Dial.* 32, 4). *Cui destinarat* is an inference of the biographer. Vespasian's intention was indicated by the appointment itself, which gave *spem consulatus*. Aquitania was in the first rank of praetorian governorships, but in fact holders of all such governorships normally reached the consulship. Cp. the expression *optio in spem ordinis* or *optio spei*, a technical term for a deputy centurion entitled to expect the centurionate, and § 6 below.

§ **2. subtilitatem**: here 'judicial discrimination', capacity for drawing fine distinctions.

secura et obtusior, 'offhand and somewhat blunt', going on broad general lines. Camp justice is satirized in Juv. 16, 13 ff.

manu, 'by the strong hand', summarily: cp. *ubi manu agitur*, *G.* 36, 1. *Ac* after *et* couples the following words closely with *obtusior*.

exerceat, 'bring into play'.

naturali prudentia, 'with native good sense', either modal abl. or abl. of quality.

togatos, 'civilians', as often, in contrast to soldiers. As no troops were quartered in Aquitania, the duties of its *legatus* would be judicial and administrative only.

facile iusteque agebat, 'dealt readily and equitably'. Seneca speaks of *ingenia facilia et expedita* (*Ep.* 52, 6), and Pliny of *ingenium facile, eruditum in causis agendis* (*Ep.* 2. 13, 7).

§ **3. iam vero**, 'furthermore', so used in transitions, sometimes with emphatic force: cp. c. 21, 2.

curarum remissionumque, 'of business and relaxation': cp. *Dial.* 28, 6.

ubi . . . poscerent. This subjunctive of repeated action, with *ubi*, *quoties*, &c., very frequent in *Hist.* and *Ann.*, and adopted chiefly from Livy, is perhaps found here alone in the minor works. Cp. the indicative in c. 20, 2.

conventus ac iudicia, 'assize courts'. *Conventus* denotes the meetings of provincials at appointed places where the governor administered justice on circuit, and *iudicia* is added to define the term more exactly, just as *conventus* in the extended meaning of 'assize district' is often defined by the adjective *iuridicus*. Some editors interpret *iudicia* as trials held in the capital of the province, where the governor normally resided.

severus et saepius misericors. In all judicial business he was 'serious and earnest (earnestly attentive), strict and yet more often merciful'. *Et* = *et tamen* (see 3, 1, note). *Severus* and *misericors* are opposites (cp. Cic. *pro Murena*, 3, 6), and where opposite ideas are thus coupled by *et* (or *ac*) *saepius*, *aliquando* or *modo* is implied with the first, e.g. *H.* 2, 62 *pecunia et saepius vi*: cp. c. 38, 1 *aliquando . . . saepius*; c. 19, 3 *nec semper . . . sed saepius*; *A.* 11. 16, 4 *modo . . . saepius*. Sometimes the opposite is not expressed, and in such cases *saepius* or *et saepius* means 'more often than not', 'generally', as in *G.* 22, 1; *A.* 12. 7, 6; 46, 3. The interpretation of Furneaux and others, according to which the meaning is 'tempering strictness with compassion', would seem to require *etiam*, or some such word, with *misericors*.

ubi . . . nulla ultra potestatis persona, 'when his duty was discharged, the official pose (mien) was no longer kept up', he could lay aside the demeanour of the official and be affable (*facilis*, § 4).

tristitiam . . . exuerat. These words have been the subject of much discussion, and the balance of argument is strongly against their genuineness. The difficulties are these. (1) *Exuerat*, a favourite Tacitean word, cannot bear the sense of *effugerat* (cp. *adrogantiam effugerat*, *A.* 2. 72, 3), 'was free from', but means 'had thrown off' (and so had become free from), as in *virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat*, which means that Agrippina had thrown off the natural failings of women (*A.* 6. 25, 3). As Tacitus could not mean to imply that Agricola ever had the vices here named, and as they cannot be regarded as faults born in every man, we should have to interpret the clause as meaning that by self-control Agricola had cast off failings natural to men in positions of power and specially characteristic of Roman governors. But even so (or with *effugerat* for *exuerat*), (2) the clause breaks the connexion of thought between *ubi conventus . . . persona* and *nec . . . deminuit*: it is not an explanation of *nulla . . . potestatis persona* (which is explained by *facilitas*) and therefore it should follow *misericors*. This objection applies to the view of Gudeman, Fossataro, and others, who regard *tristitia adrogantia avaritia* as

corresponding to *gravis intentus severus* respectively, giving to *avaritia* an exceptional meaning, 'inexorableness' in judicial (presumably often financial) cases or 'rigoroso fiscalismo'. Moreover, *adrogantia* clearly does not correspond to *intentus*, and in *H.* 1. 14 *tristitia* is the harsh interpretation of *severitas*. Bersanetti's interpretation, which takes the clause as an explanation of *nulla . . . persona* and understands by *tristitia* 'coldness', by *adrogantia* 'the insistence of the official on the execution of his commands', and by *avaritia* 'the avidity or the excessive zeal displayed for the advantage of the government which he represents', will hardly win acceptance (*Riv. di filol.* 34. pp. 460 ff.). (3) Freedom from avarice was one of the chief virtues included in *abstinentia*, the mere mention of which, exclaims Tacitus, would be an insult to Agricola's virtues. It thus seems very probable that the whole sentence is the marginal explanation of some reader who wished to explain the meaning of *nulla ultra potestatis persona*.

§ 4. **facilitas**: his affability in private life (cp. *A.* 2 65, 3, &c.), as contrasted with his strictness (*severitas*) in official duties.

integritatem atque abstinentiam, 'uprightness and purity'. Cicero's *integritas et continentia* (*ad Q. fr.* 1. 1, 18). *Abstinentia* means self-control as opposed to *libido*, with special reference to freedom from *avaritia* (Valer. Maximus 4, 3). Tacitus rhetorically apologizes for mentioning what should be taken for granted. Yet he has explicitly praised these qualities in cc. 6–7, as Gudeman notes. So Velleius (2. 45, 5) speaks of Cato as one *cuius integritatem laudari nefas est*.

§ 5. **famam . . . cui . . . indulgent**: cp. *etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur* (*H.* 4. 6, 1). Many have compared Milton's sentiment in *Lycidas* (70), 'Fame . . . that last infirmity of noble mind'.

per artem, 'by intrigue', such, for instance, as governors often used to procure addresses of thanks from subjects (*A.* 15. 20–21).

collegas: governors of neighbouring provinces: so in *H.* 1. 10, 4. Such rivalries are often mentioned. In Republican times they endangered the very existence of the Empire.

procuratores. Imperial procurators charged with collecting sums due to the *fiscus* existed in all provinces. In Caesarian provinces, governed by *legati*, there was also a chief procurator who was charged with the financial administration, and answered to the quaestor of a senatorial province. These officers had received a more independent position and jurisdiction from the time of Claudius (see c. 15, 2; *A.* 12. 60), and were frequently hostile to the governor and a check upon him (cp. *A.* 14. 38, 4); thus in Spain Galba was powerless to curb their rapacity (Plut. *Galb.* 4). But they were far below him in rank (hence *inglorium*). The plural here might refer to successive procurators, but more probably is rhetorical (cp. c. 5, 3), balancing *collegas*.

atteri sordidum, 'ignominious to lose dignity', by defeat (*vinci*

eoque alteri). *Attero* is more generally used of loss of property (cp. *G.* 29, 2; *H.* 1. 10, 2, &c.).

§ 6. **minus triennium detentus.** He was recalled early in A.D. 77 (see next note). Caesarian provinces were not held for a fixed term, but usually from three to five years (Dio, 52. 23, 2), except in case of misconduct. *Detentus*, implying that the term was shortened in order to accelerate Agricola's appointment to Britain, is an illustration of the panegyrist's art, which is also revealed in what follows; cp. *cui destinarat* in § 1.

statim ad spem cos. revocatus est. *Statim* is probably to be taken with adjectival force qualifying *spem* (cp. *contra* c. 10, 2 note). The prospect of the consulship, held out to him in his appointment (§ 1), had now become immediate. *Consules suffecti* were probably designated on Jan. 9 (cp. Mommsen, *Gesamm. Schriften*, iv, p. 428). Agricola's recall followed his designation: praetorian governors were regularly designated during their governorship (cp. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung des röm. Heeres*, p. 175). In what month his consulship actually began is unknown. Cp. Appendix I.

dari: i. e. was virtually already given (cp. *abire*, *A.* 2. 34, 1): the consulship was but a stepping-stone to it. The popular *opinio* was based merely on the fact that he had served with distinction there as military tribune and as legionary legate.

nullis ... sermonibus: concise abl. abs., 'not that he ever talked of it'. *In hoc* = εἰς τοῦτο, as often in Hor., &c.

par: taken by Andresen as neut., but better of Agricola: cp. *par negotiis* (*A.* 6. 39, 3), *par oneri* (*A.* 6. 28, 7). Britain was one of the most important military commands, and the only province where a forward movement was then in progress.

§ 7. **haud semper . . . eligit.** Rumour is often said *destinare aliquem*: here *fama* (public opinion) 'sometimes makes (determines) the choice', leads to the appointment. The meaning might be 'makes the right choice', but that would be a repetition of the previous clause. The sentence is an iambic line, and might be taken (with Gudeman) as a quotation, though probably in that case there would have been some words introducing it.

egregiae tum spei, 'then a girl of excellent promise'. Cp. such expressions as *egregiae famae* (*A.* 12. 42, 2, &c.), and the frequent use of *spes* in this sense by Virgil, &c. She would be then about thirteen years old (cp. c. 6, 3, note), and marriage of girls at the age of twelve was not unusual. See Dio, 54. 16, 7; *CIL.* ix. 1817; and many instances collected in Friedländer, *Sitteng.* i, pp. 466, 569 ff. An interesting letter of Pliny (5. 16) speaks of the mature qualities of a girl who had died before marriage in her fourteenth year.

iuveni mihi: he was probably about twenty-two years old. *Introd.*, pp. xix f.

statim should mean that the appointment followed immediately

after the marriage of his daughter, not immediately after his consulship; but the interval need not have been long. When he arrived in Britain is not certain, but the statement here combined with c. 18, 1 favours A.D. 77 (Appendix I).

sacerdotio: added to distinguish it from civil magistracies (*honores*). The pontiffs, and members of the other great priesthoods, were formally chosen by the senate (representing the old comitia) from a list furnished by the college; but candidates were in fact usually 'commended' by the princeps. See *A*. 3. 19, 1; *Staatsr*. ii. 1110. The pontificate and augurship were not often given to persons below consular rank.

CHAPTER X

§ 1. **situm populosque**, 'the geography and ethnology'. Cp. *Africae situm*, Sall. *Jug*. 17, 1 (a passage evidently followed by Tacitus in this description: see *Introd*., p. lxxxi).

multis scriptoribus, dat. of agent: cp. c. 2, 1. On earlier writers on this subject, cp. *Introd*., pp. xl ff.

in, 'with a view to': cp. c. 5, 2; 8. 3, &c.

curae, 'study', here probably not industry in collecting material (of which there was little), but literary elaboration, the contrast being solely between the style of earlier writers and the matter supplied by Tacitus (cp. Livy's Preface, § 2). *Cura* is so used in *Dial*. 16, 1, where it is joined with *ingenium*, and in *A*. 4. 61, 2, where it is contrasted with *impetus*.

tum primum perdomita. So in *H*. 1. 2, 3, *perdomita Britannia et statim omissa*. The reason for introducing the description of Britain is that its complete subjugation by Agricola has brought accurate knowledge: cp. § 5, note; *Introd*., pp. xxvii f., xxxvii ff. On the overstatement *perdomita*, see *Introd*., p. lxxi.

nondum comperta . . . percoluere, 'where my predecessors have adorned guess-work with fine language'. *Percolere* is elsewhere used of honouring persons (*H*. 2. 82, 2; *A*. 4. 68, 1), and of putting the finish on a work (*inchoata percolui*, Plin. *Ep*. 5. 6, 41).

rerum fide, 'with truth of facts': cp. *verba sine fide rerum*, Liv. 33. 34, 2.

§ 2. **spatio ac caelo**, 'as regards its extent and situation'. *Caelum* is the region of the sky (*plaga caeli*) under which the island lies as marked out by astronomical geography, i.e. the belt of latitude. Cp. *positio caeli*, c. 11, 2: Virg. *Ecl*. 3, 40-1.

in orientem Germaniae. Germany began at the mouth of the Rhine, and extended to and included Scandinavia.

in occidentem Hispaniae. Cp. c. 11, 2. The idea that Britain lies opposite to Spain on the west is found also in Caesar (*B. G*. 5. 13, 2), Strabo, and the elder Pliny (4. 16, 102). This erroneous view of the orientation of Spain was prevalent among geographers of the Roman period till Ptolemy (c. A.D. 150). The

Gallic coast from the Rhine to the Pyrenees was imagined to be parallel to that of southern Britain (Strabo, 2. 5, 28, p. 128); the western point of Britain lay opposite the Pyrenees, which were thought to run due north and south; and the Spanish coast beyond was supposed to run in a westerly, or north-westerly, direction (Strabo, 3. 1, 3, p. 137; 4. 5, 1, p. 199, &c.). The deep recess formed by the Bay of Biscay was unknown. The true orientation of the Pyrenees and the Spanish peninsula was given by Eratosthenes (*c.* 250 B.C.) on the basis of the reports of the explorer Pytheas of Massilia (*c.* 330 B.C.). The error goes back to Polybius and prevailed for three centuries.

obtenditur, 'faces'. This geographical sense seems to be found only here and in *G.* 35, 1.

inspicitur, 'is within sight of'. Tacitus thought that the two countries were parted all along by a narrow channel. See note above.

nullis contra terris, 'there being no land opposite'. For the abl. abs., cp. c. 9, 6; for the adjectival use of *contra*, cp. *in vicem* (c. 24, 1), *ultra* (c. 25, 1), &c.

§ **3. Livius**: nowhere else cited by Tacitus as an authority, but praised in the speech put into the mouth of Cordus (*A.* 4. 34, 4). The description would have come in Book 105, where he speaks of Caesar's expedition. For the use of a single name co-ordinate with a double name, cp. *Lucio Sulla . . . Cinna* (*H.* 3. 83, 3).

Fabius Rusticus is cited by Tacitus only during the rule of Nero; and this description may belong to his narrative of the rising of Boudicca, but it is possible that he wrote also of the time of Claudius. He was a friend of Seneca, and probably lived on to the time of Trajan.

eloquentissimi. Apparently selected as the most popular and best-known authors, who 'embroidered guess-work with the ornaments of rhetoric' (§ 1). Caesar, whom Tacitus cites as *summus auctorum* elsewhere (*G.* 28, 1), may have appeared to him to be superseded, as regards Britain, by later knowledge; or perhaps, as Wex and several recent scholars hold, *B. G.* 5. 12–14 is not genuine. *Introd.*, p. xlii, n. 3.

oblongae scutulae vel bipenni. Comparisons of this kind are not uncommon in ancient geographers, e.g. Spain is likened to an outstretched ox-hide (by Posidonius; Strabo, 3. 1, 3), the Peloponnese to the leaf of a plane-tree (ib. 2. 1, 30), the inhabited world to a *chlamys* (2. 5, 6 and 14). Such comparisons were merely rough aids to popular conception. The two comparisons quoted by Tacitus doubtless belong to Livy and Rusticus respectively: they may embody different ideas, but *vel* implies that the difference was not essential. The view which prevailed from Caesar's time to that of Mela (*c.* A.D. 44) was that Britain was triangular, like Sicily (*Introd.*, p. xl). Whether Livy's view was different is not clear, because the exact shape of the *scutula* is uncertain. The term,

denoting strictly a rhombus (oblique equal-sided parallelogram), was applied to various objects of a more or less rhomboidal form (oblique parallelogram with opposite sides equal): a tray or dish, a piece of a mosaic or tesselated pavement (with three or four sides, *in scutulis aut trigonis aut quadratis seu favis*, Vitruv. 7. 1, 4), a pattern of similar shape in checkered clothing (Juv. 2. 97), a patch over the eye (Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* 1178). An *oblonga scutula* would therefore have an elongated (*not* oblong) rhomboidal, or possibly triangular, form: the former would be a rough approximation to the general shape of the island (no account being taken of the indentations), but would indicate a view different from that current in Livy's time (cp. p. xl).

The *bipennis*, or double-headed axe, resembled two axe-heads joined back to back (the shaft being inserted at the point of junction). The main difference between this and the rhomboidal shape would be the indentation on either side. Presumably this comparison was based on the part of England known in Nero's time, i.e. as far as the Humber basin and Chester, the two indentations being perhaps the Wash and the Bristol Channel (Metaris and Sabrina *aestuaria*). The view that *bipennis* is loosely used of a single axe-head (giving a shape similar to the triangular form assigned to Britain in the earlier period) cannot be accepted.

adsimulavere, 'have compared': cp. *A.* 1. 28, 2; 15. 39. 3.

§ **4. et est ea facies . . . : transgressis.** 'And in fact that is its shape below Caledonia, whence the report that it has that shape in general also (i.e. as a whole); but when you have crossed (into Caledonia), a huge and shapeless tract', &c. If we leave aside the *scutula* as being of uncertain shape, Tacitus' criticism, based on the discoveries of Agricola, appears to be that, although Britain as far as the Forth–Clyde isthmus is shaped like a *bipennis*, the comparison is not applicable to the island as a whole, because to the top of the double axe is joined a shapeless tract tapering (towards the north) like a wedge. Where he placed the narrow centre of the *bipennis* we cannot say: perhaps between Tyne and Solway, or between Humber and Dee. Gudeman explains the meaning to be that Britain south of the isthmus between Forth and Clyde does resemble one half of the double axe, but the northern region does not resemble the other half: the comparison would be applicable to the whole island only if the upper axe-head is conceived as inverted, so as to lie with its broad cutting edge on the narrow back of the lower head. If this is what Tacitus intended to say, he has used the phrase *est ea facies* very loosely and has expressed his whole meaning very obscurely.

For *citra*, cp. note on c. 1, 3. *In universum* has the force of *universe* in c. 11. 3; *G.* 5. 3, &c., and should not be altered to *universam* (with Schele). *Transgressis* is dat. of point of view, like *aestimanti* (c. 11. 3). *Est* after *fama* has probably been added by suggestion of the previous *est*, as in c. 43, 1.

As Fossataro has rightly pointed out, the text of *E* shows that *sed*, which the inferior MSS. have after *transgressis*, is part of the variant reading *unde et universis fama* and should therefore be rejected with it, leaving an adversative asyndeton, of which Tacitus is fond (*De quibusdam Agr. lectionibus emend.*, 1907).

inmensum, &c. Two sentences are combined in the manner of Tacitus: (1) *inmensum . . . terrarum spatium est* (2) *idque in cuneum tenuatur*. 'A huge and shapeless tract of land runs out from the very extremity of the coast (i. e. from the isthmus where the extremity of the coast is now apparently being reached) and narrows as it were into a wedge (at the extreme north)'. *Extremo iam litore*, as thus interpreted, is an unduly condensed phrase; but the alternative interpretation, 'a tract of land jutting out with a coast-line that is absolutely the farthest' would be a very infelicitous expression. We have here the configuration of Caledonia as it was supposed to have been ascertained by the circumnavigation, and such a projection might be that of Aberdeenshire or Caithness. Ptolemy, the next to describe the country, gives far more detail, but makes the whole west coast north of the Clyde face north, and the east coast, as far as the Forth, face south. This may be due to errors in the transmission of his figures.

Litore . . tenuatur forms a hexameter, doubtless accidental: cp. *A.* i, *Introd.*, p. 68.

§ **5. novissimi**, 'the remotest': cp. *A.* 2. 24, 1, &c. On the circumnavigation, cp. c. 38, 5.

adfirmavit, 'established the fact'. Here (as in *A.* 14. 22, 6; *H.* 4. 73, 1) to prove by facts; usually to affirm in words. Agricola conclusively proved a generally existing belief: *Introd.*, p. xl.

incognitas . . . invenit. The Orkneys were already discovered and known (*Introd.*, p. xl). To explain *incognitas* as 'unexplored' does not help. Tacitus makes an excessive claim, to enhance his hero's glory. Cp. § 1 above, and *Introd.*, pp. xxvii f.

domuitque. The fleet probably received some formal submission; so Juv. (2, 160) speaks of the islands as *modo captas*.

§ **6. dispecta**, emphatic, 'was seen at a distance, and no more'. The context shows that this is meant, though it is another instance of clearness being sacrificed to conciseness.

Thule, first mentioned by Pytheas, as lying six days' sail north of Britain, near the frozen sea: see Strabo, 1. 4, 2, p. 63; 2. 4, 1, p. 104; 5, 8, p. 114; 4. 5, 5, p. 201, &c. What country he may have meant by it has been much disputed (cp. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 224 ff., who identifies it with the Scandinavian peninsula). That here seen by the Romans is usually supposed to be Mainland in Shetland, but was probably Foula, which is much the highest island and visible long before Mainland.

hactenus, sc. *progredi*, 'their orders went only so far': cp. *hactenus . . . voluerat*, *A.* 12. 42, 5.

adpetebat, 'was approaching'; so used also by Caesar, Livy, &c.

sed marks the return from the digression on the Roman voyage. The subject of *perhibent* is probably not the Roman explorers, but general report.

pigrum, &c., 'is sluggish and heavy, and is not', &c. In *G.* 45, 1, Tacitus gives a similar account of the sea in the far north beyond Scandinavia. The idea of the immovable and windless character of the outer Ocean was widely spread, and dates back to Pytheas, who surrounded his Thule with a coagulate of sea, land, and air (perhaps spongy ice), beyond which was the frozen sea, the *mare concretum* of Pliny, *N. H.* 4. 16. 104. Cp. Sen. *Suasor.* 1, 1 (quoted by Hendrickson), *stat immotum mare et quasi deficientis in suo fine naturae pigra moles . . . grave et defixum mare,* &c. What is here said may represent some knowledge, which seemed to confirm the prevalent idea, observed or gathered by the Roman fleet respecting the contrary tides and currents off the north-east of Scotland, against which even sailing ships can often make no way, and the belt of calm and fog surrounding the south of Shetland, by which all progress is often brought to a standstill for days. Cp. Elton, *Origins of Eng. Hist.*, p. 73, n. 4, and Mullenhoff, *Altertumskunde*, i, p. 388, who refers to Hibbert, *Description of Shetland* (Edinb. 1822), p. 239.

ne ventis quidem: i. e. still less by oars. Tacitus similarly describes the Dead Sea in *H.* 5. 6, 5.

perinde, 'as much as other seas'. The expression is so used in several places where the comparison is left to be supplied, so that it comes to mean 'less than would be expected'. The correction from *proinde* is supported by the general usage of Tacitus.

causa ac materia. The second word, which is practically synonymous with the first, is frequently used in the sense of source, cause, occasion, opportunity. Similarly Seneca ascribes whirlwinds to the resistance offered by high ground to the natural course of the wind, which would otherwise expend itself (*Nat. Quaest.* 5, 13).

tardius impellitur: falsely argued from the analogy of heavy solid bodies.

§ 7. neque . . . ac. For this very rare combination, cp. Suet. *Vesp.* 12, where *ac* bears the same sense of 'and moreover'.

multum fluminum . . . ferre. *Ferre* seems to be best taken transitively: 'bears many currents (caused by the flow and ebb of the tide) to and fro'. Others take it absolutely: 'set in various directions', cp. *A.* 2. 23, 4; but this involves an awkward change of subject. For *flumina* Andresen aptly quotes Pomponius Mela 3, 3: *mare . . . aquis passim interfluentibus ac saepe transgressis vagum atque diffusum facie amnium spargitur.*

nec litore, &c., 'nor does the flow and ebb confine itself to the open coast-line, but penetrates and works round inland, and forces its way among highlands and mountains, as if within its own domain.' This description is obviously drawn from Agricola's experience of the firths.

CHAPTER XI

§ **1. Ceterum,** returning to the chief subject after a digression: cp. c. 25, 1. The following words closely resemble Sall. *Jug.* 17, 7.

ut inter barbaros 'as might be expected', 'as is natural', (or 'as is usual') where barbarians are concerned: cp. c. 18, 5; *G.* 2, 4, &c.

habitus corporum, here 'the physical types', as in § 2 and *G.* 4, 2; 46, 1. In c. 44, 2; *A.* 4. 57, 3, &c., the term is used of the physical characteristics (personal appearance) of individuals.

ex eo, 'from that variation', sc. *petuntur*, which is expressed in *H.* 5. 2, 2.

§ **2. rutilae . . . comae,** &c. Cp. *G.* 4, 2: *truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora.* To Roman eyes the physical difference between German and Celt was slight: both had large frames and red (or fair) hair, but the Germans had the larger frames and the redder hair (cp. Strabo, 7. 1, 2; Manilius, 4. 710–11). Hence Tacitus assigns to the Caledonians a Germanic origin. In fact they were evidently a mixed population, in which immigrant Celtic elements were blended with the old neolithic stock, and spoke a Celtic dialect (cp. Rice Holmes, *Anc. Britain*, p. 417 ff.).

habitantium: substantival, 'of the inhabitants of', a usage following that of the Greek participle with the article. The active use of *habitare* is mostly poetical.

Silurum. These lived in South Wales and Monmouthshire (see *A.* 12. 32, 4, &c.). They were not conquered till the time of Frontinus (c. 17, 3).

colorati, 'swarthy', not here 'sunburnt' (Quint. 5. 10, 81, *sol colorat: non utique, qui est coloratus, a sole est*). So used of Indians (Virg. *G.* 4, 293) and other dark races. The asyndeton *torti crines*, 'curly locks', is part of the same argument; *et* adds another from geography.

posita contra Hispania. The manuscript *Hispaniam* arose from taking *contra* as a preposition.

Tacitus' geographical argument about the ethnical affinities of the Silures is based on the false notion that Spain was opposite (*posita contra*) and near to Britain (see note on c. 10, 2). The physical resemblances to the Spanish Iberians indicate that among the Celts of South Wales there was a strong strain of native British blood resulting from fusion with the inhabitants of the later Stone Age, who may be called Iberian in the sense in which the term is used by ethnologists to describe the short, dark race of non-Aryan stock which was widely spread over the Mediterranean lands in the neolithic period (cp. Rice Holmes, *Anc. Britain*, p. 398 ff., *Conquest of Gaul*, p. 287 ff.).

eas: explained by the context, as *ea provincia* in *A.* 4. 56, 3.

proximi, &c., 'those nearest to the Gauls are also like them'. The reference is to the inhabitants of the south-east of England. Caesar had already noted the similarity between the customs of the

Gauls and those of the people of Kent, the most civilized of the Britons (*B. G.* 5. 14, 1).

seu, &c.: in such constructions elsewhere the more probable alternative is put without *seu*, the second added as an afterthought, 'or perhaps', &c.

procurrentibus, &c., 'projecting in opposite directions' (north and south), and so approaching each other (see on c. 10, 2). *Diversus* has often the force of 'opposite', as in c. 23, 2; *A.* 2. 17, 4, &c.

positio caeli = *situs caeli*, their situation under a particular tract of the sky, involving uniform climatic conditions (see note on c. 10, 2). Here practically 'climate'. Cp. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5. 10, 26 *cuius* (sc. *Syracusarum*) *hic situs atque haec natura esse loci caelique dicitur ut* . . . The celestial divisions determined the character of the terrestrial (cp. Virg. *G.* 1. 233 ff.); and *climata*, the term used by the astronomer Hipparchus (c. 140 B.C.) for belts of latitude (so 'climate' in old English), came to denote belts of temperature, whence the modern sense of the English word.

habitum. We should expect *eundem* or *similem*; but *suum* can be supplied from the sense.

§ **3. in universum . . . aestimanti**, 'to form a general judgement' (so in *G.* 6, 4). For the dative and for *in universum*, cp. c. 10, 4.

Tamen indicates that of the alternative explanations just suggested the former is the more probable. It is, of course, the true one. The first Celtic invaders were Goidelic Celts (or Celts who spoke the language from which Goidelic was evolved): from their dialect Gaelic, Irish, and Manx are descended. Later, apparently from about 400 B.C., came successive invasions of Brythonic Celts, from whose dialect Welsh, Cornish, and Breton are derived. At the time of the Roman invasion the greater part of England and Wales, and at least a large part of southern Scotland, were inhabited by Brythons, whose dialect prevailed, though possibly Goidelic was still spoken in remoter parts of the island. See Rice Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 232 ff., 409, 449, 455 f.

§ **4. sacra**, 'you would find (among the Britons) their (the Gaulish) rites'. The reference is doubtless to Druidism which, according to a tradition recorded by Caesar, *B. G.* 6, 13, was believed to have originated in Britain, but was probably the religion of the neolithic population both in Britain and in Gaul. On the British and Gaulish religions generally, see Rice Holmes, *Anc. Britain*, p. 271 ff.; *Conquest of Gaul*, p. 26 ff.

superstitionum persuasiones, 'their religious beliefs'. For *persuasio*, cp. *G.* 45. 1; *H.* 5. 5, 5, and for the plural Seneca, *Ep.* 94, 30; Pliny *N. H.* 29. 1, 28. The manuscript text (retained by Halm and Andresen) would mean 'because of their belief in (Gallic) superstitions', but Tacitus' argument plainly would require 'because they have brought their Gallic beliefs with them'. The '*s*' would

easily drop out before *sermo*. But the asyndeton which is generally assumed is very awkward. *Sup. persuasiones* would naturally be felt as appositional to *sacra*; and Gudeman notes that Tacitus does not elsewhere interpose a verb between the members of such an asyndeton. Hence it seems probable that *ac* has dropped out after *-as*.

Superstitio, contrasted with *religiones* in *H.* 5. 13, 1, is used often of foreign religions other than Greek, whether barbarian (*G.* 39, 4; 43, 5, &c.), or Jewish (*H.* 5. 8, 2, &c.), or Christian (*A.* 15. 44, 4).

sermo, &c. Tacitus appears to distinguish between the language of Britain and that of Gaul, but not between that of any one part of Britain and another: cp. note on *in universum*, &c., § 3.

in deposcendis, &c. Similarly Caesar (*B. G.* 3. 19, 6) and Livy (10. 28, 4).

§ **5. praeferunt**, 'display': cp. *A.* 4. 75, 2, &c.

nam explains an unexpressed thought: '(as is the case with the Gauls), for . . .'

accepimus. The reference is probably to Caesar, *B. G.* 6. 24, 1, who is cited in *G.* 28, 1. On their subsequent unwarlike character, cp. *A.* 3. 46, 2–4; 11. 18, 1, &c.

pariter, 'at the same time' (ἅμα): cp. *A.* 6. 18, 1; 13. 37, 2, &c.

olim: in the time of Claudius, taken closely with *victis*.

ceteri: such for instance as the Brigantes, and those of the north and west generally.

CHAPTER XII

§ **1. In pedite robur.** The same is said of the Germans (*G.* 6, 4) and of the Chatti in particular (*G.* 30, 3). That the Britons had also cavalry is shown by Caes. *B. G.* 4. 24, 1; 32, 5, &c.

nationes: here (as in *G.* 2, 5, &c.) of separate tribes; in *G.* l. c. opposed to *gens*, but in c. 22, 1, below, interchanged with it.

et curru, 'also with the chariot'. These warriors are the *covinnarii* of c. 35, 3, the *essedarii* of Caesar, who describes their skill and tactics (4. 33). That these chariots were scythed is affirmed by Mela, 3. 6, 52 and Silius Italicus 17. 417, but the silence of Caesar and Tacitus, who describe battles in which chariots take part, is against the supposition that they were generally scythed, and other evidence points to the same conclusion: cp. Rice Holmes, *Anc. Brit.*, p. 674. The use of chariots at all, though ascribed to Gauls by other writers, is noticed by Caesar as a peculiarity of British warfare.

honestior auriga, &c. The general use of *propugnator* of one fighting from a place of vantage (as a ship, wall, &c.) seems to show that here the driver is opposed to those who fight from the chariot, and that the meaning is that (contrary to the rule in Homer and among the Gauls) the driver is the higher, the fighters the lower in rank. There was probably only one *propugnator*, chosen by the *auriga* from among his clients. So in Caesar's time the British

chariot carried a driver and one warrior, like the Gallic (Diod. Sic. 5. 29). Caesar (4. 33) describes the chariots as carrying the fighters among the troops of cavalry (their own, apparently), and then, while they alight and fight, taking position in rear to rescue them if pressed. (Cp. von Göler, *Gall. Krieg*, p. 137, n. 1; Rice Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 675 ff.). It would appear that in Agricola's time the tactical importance of the chariots had diminished (cp. c. 35). *Clientes* is used as in the case of a Gaulish (Caes. *B. G.* 1. 4, 2, &c.) or German (*A.* 1. 57, 4) chief, and presumably the same system obtained among the Britons.

olim. In Caesar's time there were four kings in Cantium (*B. G.* 5. 22, 1), and monarchy was evidently general (cp. Diod. 5. 21, 6), with instances of pre-eminent kings ruling several tribes, like Cassivellaunus (Caes. *B. G.* 5. 11, 9) and afterwards Cunobelinus. So Strabo (4. 5, 1, p. 200) says *δυναστεῖαι δ' εἰσὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς.* Dio describes the Britons (60. 20, 1) as *ἄλλοι ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι προστεταγμένοι* in the time of Claudius, and several names of kings, the *reguli* of *A.* 2. 24, 5. are preserved by their coinage. Some lived on as vassals of Rome, like Cogidumnus (c. 14).

nunc per principes, i.e. at the time of Tacitus, no kings remained. *Trahuntur*, &c., is contrasted with *parebant*: 'they once lived in obedience under kings, but are now drawn by faction into allegiance sometimes to one chief, sometimes to another'. Similar disunion prevailed in the Gaulish cantons in Caesar's time, as the result of factions headed by nobles.

factionibus et studiis trahuntur, 'they are dragged by rival chiefs in their train through factions and party-spirit'. *Studia* is the cause, *factiones* the effect. *Distrahuntur* is an easy emendation, but seems unnecessary. Wölfflin thought that with *trahuntur* we should expect *in factiones* (*Philol.* 26, 145); but, though *trahere in* or *ad* is common in Tacitus, the verb is very frequently used by him, with or without *secum*, in the sense of 'to draw after one, in one's train'.

§ 2. **pro nobis**, 'on our behalf': cp. *pro re publica honesta* (*H.* 1. 5, 4), &c., and the same opposition of *pro* and *adversum* in Sall. *Jug.* 88, 4.

in commune, 'in common', 'together': cp. *in commune consultare* (*H.* 4. 67, 4), *in medium consulere* (*H.* 2. 5, 3), &c. In *A.* 12. 5, 4 the phrase means 'for the common good'.

duabus tribusve, 'two or (at most) three' (cp. c. 15, 5; 40, 4); *tribusque* would mean 'two and (even) three', and would suggest a considerable number. *Bis terve* = *raro*, *bis terque* = *saepe* (Bentley on Hor. *Epod.* 5, 33). *Civitas* is used of tribes, as the Brigantes (c. 17, 2), &c., and often of Gaulish and German tribes.

conventus, 'meeting together': cp. *conventus Italiae*, *A.* 2. 35, 3.

singuli, &c., 'they fight in isolated bodies, and the whole are vanquished' (in detail).

§ 3. **caelum**, &c. The strange interposition of this account of

the climate and products between two passages treating of the character of the people, has led to the supposition of some error on the part of a transcriber, which it is thought might be corrected by inserting c. 12, 3–7 at the end either of c. 10 (Wölfflin, *Philol.* 26, 144–5) or of c. 11 (Bährens). Granting the present arrangement to be faulty, it is still probable that it is due to Tacitus himself. The plan was probably intended generally to resemble that of the *Germania*, where we have (1) geography (c. 1), (2) ethnology (c. 2–4), (3) climate and products (c. 5), (4) military matters (c. 6); but the mention of the ethnological affinity of Britons to Gauls led him to speak of the contrast in warlike qualities, whence the passage on their mode of fighting and on the disunion which made them less formidable is interpolated out of its proper place.

foedum, 'gloomy': cp. *foedum imbribus diem* (*H.* 1. 18, 1), *nubes foedavere lumen* (Sall. *Fr. inc.* 104 D, IV. 80 Maur.).

asperitas frigorum abest. So Caesar says (*B. G.* 5. 12, 7), *loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus*, his comparison being, no doubt, between southern Britain and northern Gaul. Strabo also speaks of the weather as rainy and misty rather than snowy (4. 5, 2, p. 200). We should have expected Tacitus, in the light of his knowledge of the northern parts, to speak more specifically.

dierum spatia, &c. Tacitus, like Juvenal (2, 161), speaks only of the long summer, not of the short winter, days. Caesar (*B. G.* 5. 13, 3), Strabo (2. 1, 18, p. 75, quoting Hipparchus), and Pliny (*N. H.* 2. 75, 186) have some information as to both. Caesar, when in Britain, had verified the greater length of the day by a water-clock. Pliny comes very near accuracy in giving the longest day as fourteen hours at Alexandria, fifteen in Italy, seventeen in Britain (which would be about a medium between London and the north of Scotland).

nostri orbis, 'our world': cp. *G.* 2, 1, &c. So *nostrum mare* for the Mediterranean sea (c. 24, 2). *Dierum* is omitted for conciseness: cp. c. 24. 2.

ut . . . internoscas, 'so that you can hardly distinguish between evening and morning twilight' (the one passes into the other). Potential subj., cp. c. 22, 5.

§ 4. **solis fulgorem** is the 'glow' which may be seen long after sunset even in the English midlands on fine summer nights. Cp. *G.* 45, 1: *extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus ut sidera hebetet.* The short summer nights of the north were already known to Homer (*Od.* 10. 83 ff.).

occidere et exurgere. *Solem* should probably be supplied, as it was by Eumenius and Jordanis (see below). Peter keeps *solis fulgorem* as subject, but *occidere* is properly used of the sun and is inappropriate to *fulgor.* The actual sun is below the horizon, but only casts a low shadow. *Et* after *nec* (cp. c. 1, 3) couples two parts of one idea, 'set, and then rise again' (cp. Draeger, § 107).

The statement here reported is very loose: even in Shetland the shortest night is about five hours long. The night-long glow is assigned with more correctness to the extreme north of Scandinavia in *G.* 45, 1 (quoted above).

transire, 'passes along (under the horizon)': cp. Jordanis' paraphrase (next note).

scilicet, &c. 'In fact the flat extremities of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not throw the darkness up high, and the night does not reach to the sky and stars.' The theory implied is that the earth is a disk, flat at the extreme edges (where there are no mountains) but bulging elsewhere, and surrounded by a belt of ocean (cp. *G.* 17, 2; 45, 1); that the night is a shadow from the sun beneath the earth (cp. Plin. *N. H.* 2. 10, 47): and that at the limit of the earth the shadow cast is so low that the sky is unaffected by it, and therefore not hidden from the earth. It is difficult to suppose Tacitus ignorant of the spherical form of the earth, known to scientific Greeks from the fourth century B.C. and to such Romans as Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny; but his language can hardly be explained as merely rhetorical and popular, and in other matters his scientific knowledge was below the standard of his day (*Introd.*, p. xli). He is followed by Eumenius (4th cent.), who says of Britain (*Pan.* 9), *nullae sine aliqua luce noctes, dum illa litorum extrema planities non attollit umbras, noctisque metam caeli et siderum transit aspectus, ut sol ipse, qui nobis videtur occidere, ibi appareat praeterire.* Cp. also Jordanis (6th cent.), *Getica*, 3, 21 *et quod nobis videtur sol ab imo surgere, illis* (sc. *Scandzam insulam incolentibus*) *per terrae marginem dicitur circuire.* *Sidera* is more specific than *caelum*, and the two are thus coupled frequently in poetry and prose.

§ **5. praeter**, 'except': cp. *praeter fagum atque abietem*, Caes. *B. G.* 5. 12, 5.

oriri sueta, a phrase used by Sall. *Fr. Hist.* 1. 9 D, I. 11 Maur.

patiens [frugum] fecundumque. The best MS. (*E*) reads *pecudumque* in the text and *fecundum* in the margin, while the inferior MSS. have *fecundum* in the text. *Pecudumque* cannot stand in view of the following words *tarde mitescunt* &c., and it should probably be emended to *fecundumque.* The marginal variant was intended to replace *pecudum* only: cp. the critical notes on *ne quamquam*, c. 16, 2, *praevehebantur*, c. 28, 2; and c. 38, 5. *Fecundum* strengthens *patiens*, a very general term consistent with growth of a poor quality: so *silvae frequens fecundusque* (*mons*), *A.* 4. 65, 1, means bearing many and fine oak-trees. With the reading *fecundum*, the asyndeton can be taken as strengthening *patiens* (cp. *A.* 2. 17, 5; 6. 38, 1, &c.); but Gudeman pointed out that *frugum* should come before the adjectives. Older editors, citing the analogy of *G.* 5, 1 (*terra . . . frugiferarum arborum inpatiens, pecorum fecunda*) also of Sall. *Jug.* 17, 5, supposed the

loss of a noun before *patiens*, such as *arborum*, which could not by itself mean *arborum frugiferarum*.

§ 6. **fert . . . metalla**. See Appendix II. Caesar says nothing of precious metals, and Cicero had heard that there were none in Britain (*ad Fam.* 7. 7, 1 ; cp. *ad Att.* 4. 16, 7) : but Strabo speaks of gold, silver, and iron (4. 5, 2, p. 199), Caesar of tin found in the interior, and a little iron on the coasts (*B. G.* 5. 12, 5) ; and an account of the tin trade from Belerion (Land's End) to the island of Ictis is given in Diod. 5. 22, 1 (cp. also Plin. *N. H.* 4. 16, 104). It is shown in Appendix II that there are few traces of gold-mining, but that silver was extracted from lead ores, which were extensively worked. Copper (imported in Caesar's time) was mined in Anglesey and elsewhere in N.W. Wales, and iron in the Sussex Weald and the Forest of Dean. Cornish tin was less important than that of N.W. Spain.

pretium victoriae. For *pretium = praemium*, cp. c. 1, 2. These words should not be pressed to mean that Britain was invaded for the sake of these metals (*Introd.*, p. xlv). All metal works in provinces were taken as a source of revenue, and usually formed part of the emperor's *fiscus* (Marquardt, *Staatsv.* ii. 259 ff.; Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 145 ff.).

gignit et, i. e. the sea also adds to the revenue. The form *margaritum* (for *margarita*) is found in Varro, and in late Latin. Suet. says (*Jul.* 47) that Caesar went to Britain *spe margaritarum*, Mela (3. 6, 51) speaks of some British rivers as *gemmas margaritasque generantia*, and mediaeval writers give exaggerated accounts (Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 220).

subfusca, &c: Pliny (*N. H.* 9. 35, 116) calls the British pearls *parvos atque decolores*, instancing the breastplate dedicated by Caesar in the temple of Venus Genetrix, made of pearls professedly brought from there. The whole subject of pearls is treated at length in § 106 ff.

§ **7. artem**, i. e. the skill to dive for them.

rubro mari, the Persian Gulf, as in *A.* 2. 61, 2 ; 14. 25, 3 ; Plin. *N. H.* 6. 23, 107 ; the Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα of Hdt. 1. 180, 2, &c.

saxis. The case here is generally taken to be dat., as in Virg. *Aen.* 2. 608, also in *A.* 1. 44, 6 (*avellerentur castris*), but Virgil has *complexu avolsus* (*Aen.* 4, 616), and such ablatives depending on the force of a prep. in composition are often found.

expulsa, 'cast on shore'.

naturam, 'quality', i. e. that of the best pearls. If, gathered alive, they were as good as others, greed would have found a way to get them alive. *Deesse* is taken with *avaritiam* in a sense nearer to *abesse*.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. **Ipsi Britanni.** These sentences describing the character of the Britons as subjects lead up to the account of their subjugation, and *ipsi* is similarly used in *G.* 2, 1 in a transition from the country to the people.

et iniuncta imperii munia: a general expression added to particular terms (c. 6, 4, note). *Munia* means 'duties', 'obligations enjoined by the government', including the provision of requisitioned corn (c. 19, 4), of labour for road-building (c. 31, 3), &c. *Munia* is used by Tacitus only in the sense of functions or duties of an office or calling, and *munia imperii* elsewhere means 'the functions, or duties, of government' (*H.* 1. 77, 1, &c.). Hence Andresen prefers the correction of the inferior MSS., *munera*, the usual word for 'public burdens'. But Tacitus never uses *munera obire*: he always says *munia obire*. In ordinary Latin *munia* is used for *munera* (nom. and accus. plur.) when *munus* has the sense of duties imposed by office or calling, though Livy uses *munia* or *munera* indifferently; *munera* is usually reserved for duties imposed by public authority, i.e. public burdens. Here *iniuncta munia* is equivalent to *munera*: the whole expression *ini. mun. obire*, for *munera praestare* or the like, may be one of those experiments in phrasing which are characteristic of the *Agricola*, but Tacitus does not in fact (whether it is accidental or not) appear to use *munera* (nom. and accus. plur.) at all, except in the sense of 'favours' or 'gifts'. *Munera* seems to be rightly altered to *munia* in *A.* 3. 2, 1 and *H.* 3. 13, 1, but the inverse change here would appear to be wrong.

obeunt is sufficiently applicable by zeugma to the two more special terms to make correction (e. g. to *subeunt*) needless.

si iniuriae absint. The subjunctive is best taken as potential: cp. *quae, ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur*, *H.* 3. 86, 3: Draeger, § 190.

§ 2. **igitur**, here noting the beginning of a relation of the state of things already indicated by *domiti*. Cp. c. 29. 2, &c.

ostendisse . . . non tradidisse, 'to have pointed the attention of posterity to it, not handed it down as a possession'. Ancient writers vary in their estimates of the results of Caesar's two raids on Britain, but generally they depreciate them (cp. *Ann.* ii, *Introd.*, p. 128, n. 9). And indeed it is clear that he showed that Britain could be invaded, and that (as in Gaul) the disunion of its tribes could be turned to account, and he did no more. *Litore potitus*, if it implies lasting conquest, would be obvious exaggeration, like the *bis penetrata Britannia* of Veil. 2. 47, 1, and the *Caledonas secutus in silvas* of Florus, 1. 45 (3. 10), 18. Caesar's real work in respect of Britain was done in Gaul. By conquering Gaul he opened the way for Mediterranean influences to enter the island, and they entered freely during the next three generations. See *Introd.*, p. xliv.

§ **3. et**, carrying on the idea of *bella civilia*; *ac* adding another cause. *Principum*, 'leading men', as in *Dial.* 36, 4, and often in Cicero. Cp. c. 12, 1; 21, 2.

consilium, 'policy'; **praeceptum**, 'an injunction'. That Tiberius regarded the practice of Augustus in this light is acknowledged by himself (*A.* 4. 37, 4; cp. also 1. 77, 4). Augustus more than once professed an intention to invade Britain, but really preferred to gain influence there by diplomacy, and dissuaded his successors from extending the empire (*A.* 1. 11, 7).

§ **4. agitasse**: sc. *animo*, 'had formed plans'. The great army collected by Gaius in Gaul is stated to have been marched to the coast as if to embark, and then to have been led back, after being told to pick up shells as spoils of the ocean; a lighthouse having been built in commemoration (Suet. *Cal.* 46, Dio, 59. 25, 1). For a possible explanation of the abandonment of the invasion, see *Introd.*, p. xlv, n. 3. The lighthouse, a useful aid to cross-Channel shipping, may have been built in connexion with the invasion.

ni, i.e. he had planned the invasion, and would have executed it but for his own natural changeableness, and his previous failure against Germany (cp. c. 4, 4; 37, 1).

velox . . . paenitentiae. *Velox* goes with *paenitentiae* (gen.), and *ingenio mobili* is a causal abl., 'through natural fickleness swift to change'. Such a genitive as *paenitentiae* expressing the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person, though nowhere else used with *velox*, is found with many adjectives, such as *pervicax*, *procax*, &c. The usage is especially poetical and Tacitean, but is also found in Sallust. *Velox ingenio* would imply praise, as in Quint. 6. 4, 8, &c.

frustra fuissent, 'had failed', a construction originating with Sall. (*Cat.* 20, 2, &c.) and used by Livy. The expedition into Germany, of which Tacitus speaks elsewhere still more severely *Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium*, *H.* 4. 15, 3; *ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae*, *G.* 37, 5, is described in a similar spirit by Suetonius (*Cal.* 43, f.), who speaks of a sham fight, in which the emperor's German bodyguard represented the enemy, and of Gauls dressed up to resemble German prisoners. Compare the similar (false) tale told of Domitian in c. 39, 2. The traditional 'history' of Gaius is largely patent travesty.

§ **5. auctor iterati operis.** This correction of *auctoritate* (*E*) seems to be the best. Julius Caesar was the *auctor* of invading Britain, Claudius the *auctor iterandi*: cp. *iterare culpam* (*H.* 3. 11, 2), &c. *Auctor* simply, the reading of the Toledo MS. (doubtless a conjecture of Crullus, *Introd.*, p. xiv), is accepted by Andresen, but does not account for the reading of *E*. Ritter's *patrati* would apply more to the time of Agricola, when the island was supposed to be *perdomita*; *statim* ('immediately on his accession'), formerly proposed by Andresen, would be hardly true.

legionibus, &c., four and part of a fifth: see *Introd.*, p. lxxiv. *Transvectis* and *adsumpto* are aoristic.

in partem rerum, 'to share the undertaking'. For similar uses of *in partem*, cp. c. 25, 1; *A.* 1. 11, 2; 14. 33, 3. If this passage stood alone, we might suppose that Claudius commanded the first invasion in person, with Vespasian as his chief of staff, and that Plautius was sent out afterwards to govern the province: whereas our only narrative, that of Dio (60. 19-23), makes Plautius command the invading force, and barely mentions Vespasian, while Claudius arrives later and stays only a few days, to take the credit of the capture of Camulodunum. But Tacitus elsewhere (*H.* 3. 44, 2) states that Vespasian was *legatus* of the Second Legion (cp. Suet. *Vesp.* c. 4), and in the *Annals* he doubtless agreed with the account preserved by Dio. Here he is speaking loosely and rhetorically.

fortunae. He had been previously obscure; but his service in Britain advanced him to the consulship and *triumphalia*, and led Nero afterwards to select him to deal with the Jewish rebellion; which position led to his designation as emperor. *Fortuna* is used specially of the imperial rank (*A.* 6. 6, 3; 11. 12, 4, &c.), and of that of Vespasian in particular (c. 7, 4).

domitae gentes, capti reges. These asyndeta form one idea, distinct from *et* (cp. c. 11, 2).

Tacitus seems to speak here in the language of the triumphal arch of Claudius (*C.I.L.* vi. 920; Dessau, *Inscr. sel.* 216-217), which was dedicated in A.D. 51-2, and probably recorded the whole success down to that date, and which appears to have mentioned the submission of eleven kings, some of whom are probably those with whom a treaty was made at Rome under the ancient formalities (cp. Suet. *Cl.* 25; Mommsen, *Staatsr.* i. 252, 6; iii. 654, 1). Caratacus and his family, taken in that year (*A.* 12. 35-8), are the only captive kings known to us.

fatis, best taken as abl.: cp. *ostendent terris hunc tantum fata* (Virg. *Aen.* 6, 869); *G.* 31, 4, &c. By his achievements here destiny made him conspicuous as the coming man, a more rhetorical repetition of the fact stated above (*quod initium*, &c.).

CHAPTER XIV

The survey of the conquest and administration of Britain before Agricola's entry on the stage (cc. 14-17) is an artistic piece of writing, skilfully blending light and shade, and serving as a foil for the merits of Agricola (contrasted with the *incuria vel intolerantia priorum*, c. 20, 1) and as a measure of the greatness of his military achievements. Cp. the note on c. 15 (*init.*), the criticisms made in c. 16, and the brief mention of the considerable achievements of Cerialis and Frontinus (c. 17): *Introd.*, p. liv.

§ **1. Consularium**, i.e. governors (of consular rank).

Aulus Plautius, the leader of the original expedition in A. D. 43, who remained in Britain till A. D. 47, and received an ovation (*A.* 13. 32, 3), an honour usually reserved, like the full triumph, for the imperial family (see note on c. 40, 1). His achievements in Britain, after the capture of Camulodunum, are not recorded. He had been cos. in A. D. 29 (from July) and legatus of Pannonia from about 41 to 43 (*CIL.* v. 698). From Pannonia he brought the Ninth legion with him to Britain.

subinde, 'in succession' (*A.* 6. 2, 5).

Ostorius Scapula (Publius), legatus A. D. 47–52. His achievements, and especially the defeat and capture of Caratācus, are

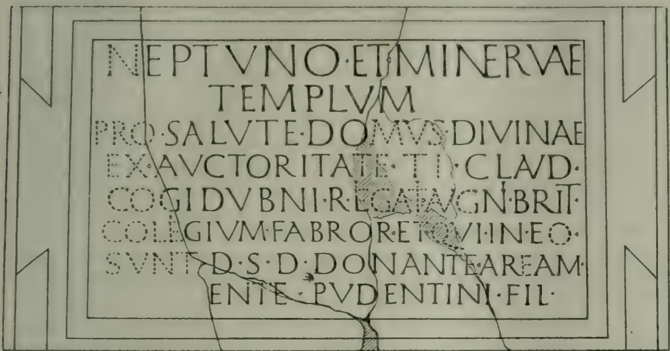


FIG. 10. Inscription of Chichester mentioning King Cogidubnus
$\frac{1}{10}$ scale

related in *A.* 12. 31–9. He received *triumphalia*, and died in the province.

proxima pars: apparently somewhat of an understatement. On the extent of territory conquered at the death of Ostorius, see *Introd.*, pp. xlvii f.

veteranorum colonia: that of Camulodunum (Colchester), colonized during the time of Ostorius: see *A.* 12. 32, 4, and note.

§ **2. Cogidumno regi.** Tacitus speaks as if he was still surviving in his own time or that of Agricola. The name is taken to occur in a famous inscription of Chichester (Regni), *CIL.* vii. 11: [*N*]*eptuno et Minervae templum* [*pr*]*o salute do*[*mus*] *divinae* [*ex*] *auctoritate* [*Ti.*] *Claud.* [*Co*]*gidubni r*(*egis*?) *legat*[*i*] *Aug*(*usti*) *in Brit*(*annia*), [*colle*]*gium fabror*(*um*) *et qui in eo* [*sunt*] *d*(*e*) *s*(*uo*) *d*(*ant*), *donante aream* [*Clem*?]*ente Pudentini fil*(*io*). The stone has suffered at the crucial point since the careful drawing of Stukeley and R. Gale was made. The drawing here given (Fig. 10) has been made by Mr. R. G. Collingwood, from a photograph, after

a minute re-examination of the stone by him and myself. The explanation of the inscription is beset with some difficulties: *R* is an unexampled abbreviation of *regis*, though *R. N.* occurs for *regnum Noricum*; and the title of *legatus Augusti* is unknown among vassal princes, but may perhaps have been honorary only. A parallel would be found in the title *praefectus civitatium* borne by M. Iul. Cottius who succeeded his father, King Donnus, as ruler of the Cottian Alps (Dessau, 94), if we could accept the statement of Ammianus (15. 10, 2) which gives him the title of *rex*; but according to Dio, whose evidence is more trustworthy, that title was conferred for the first time on his son and namesake by Claudius in A.D. 44 (60. 24, 4), and there is no evidence that the old title was retained. However, there seems to be little doubt that the Cogidubnus of the inscr. is the Cogidumnus of Tacitus. The very fine lettering (with punctuation dots) is hardly later than the early Flavian age, and the expression *domus divina*, though not common till a later time, occurs in a north-Gaulish inscription of Tiberius' reign (*C.I.L.* xiii. 4635) and in Phaedrus 5. 7. 38 (written probably in Claudius' reign). The Celtic *dumnos* or *dubnos* means 'secret' or 'mysterious' (Holder), and the two forms seem interchangeable. Cp. *Dubnovellaunos* and *Dumnovellaunus*, *Dumnorix* and *Dubnorix* (Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Aug.*, p. 138).

vetere . . . consuetudine is a modal abl. like *more . . . recepto* (*A.* 2. 85, 2), and *ut haberet* explains *consuetudine*. Furneaux preferred to take *consuetudine* as abs. ('it being the custom of the Romans to have') containing the subject of *haberet*, which he thought to be otherwise less easily supplied. With the MSS. reading, which places *ut* before *vetere*, it is very awkward to supply the subject of *haberet* from *populi R.* and the sense is inferior. *Ut* might easily drop out, like *et* in other places, and be inserted in the wrong position before *uet-*: and the erasure in *E* (see crit. n.) perhaps points in this direction.

In Liv. 44. 24, 2 the Romans are said *regum viribus reges oppugnare*. Among the instances in old times were Massinissa, Attalus, Eumenes, Herod, &c. In Britain we find another vassal king Prasutagus, husband of Boudicca, and under the early Empire there were many such in the East (Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, &c.).

instrumenta is predicative.

et reges, 'even kings', in ironical contrast to *servitutis*.

§ **3. mox . . . continuit**, i.e. *secutus est et continuit*. There is a similar condensation below, *Suetonius hinc . . . habuit*.

Didius Gallus (Aulus), after gaining distinction, probably as legatus of Moesia, by operations against Mithridates of Bosporus about A.D. 46 (see *A.* 12. 15, 1), was legatus of Britain A.D. 52–8. His hostilities with the Silures and Brigantes are recorded briefly in *A.* 12. 40, where he is spoken of as *senectute gravis et multa copia honorum*, and said to have left all action to subordinates and contented himself with standing on the defensive. Elsewhere

Tacitus says of him *neque . . . nisi parta retinuerat* (*A.* 14. 29, 1). Possibly during his five years' rule ground already won was secured by forts, roads, &c., but throughout Nero's reign little or no progress was made in Britain.

castellis . . . promotis is aoristic, as also *subactis* and *firmatis* below: c. 2, 2, &c. On the meaning of *castellis*, see note on c. 16, 1 and Fig. 12.

aucti officii. The post-Augustan use of *officium* for an office, appointment, sphere of duty (cp. c. 19, 3; 25, 1) may justify this expression, but it is a harsh equivalent for *auctae provinciae.* Sallust has *officia intendere*, in the sense of doing more than bare duty (*Jug.* 75, 8); which Draeger took to be the meaning here.

Veranius (Quintus), not the legatus and friend of Germanicus (*A.* 2. 56, 4, &c.), but the consul A.D. 49 (12. 5, 1). He was legatus of Britain in A.D. 58 or 58–9: see *A.* 14. 29, 1, where it is said that he made some attacks on the Silures, and in his will boasted that he could have subdued the whole province in two more years. Ritter proposed to insert the praenomen here, but Veranius is named without it in *A.* 14. 29, 1.

§ 4. **Suetonius . . . Paulinus**: see on c. 5, 1. His *biennium* would be A.D. 59 and 60 or 59–60 and 60–1, before the great rebellion of A.D. 61.

hinc, 'after this'; so in the elder Pliny, &c., and often in Tacitus.

firmatisque praesidiis: best taken (with Peter and Andresen) to mean *praesidiis firmis positis* 'establishing strong forts': cp. *aciem firmarent* (c. 35, 2), *firmando praesidio* (*A.* 13. 41, 3); not 'strengthening forts', since forts would not exist among tribes newly conquered. To take *firmatis* with *nationibus*, abl. abs., and *praesidiis* as instrumental abl., 'securely held by forts', though supported by c. 23, 2; *H.* 2. 83, 2; 4. 55, 4, would give here an awkward construction. The period from the time of Ostorius to the rebellion of Boudicca may have been filled by the occupation of outposts against the unsubdued tribes of Wales and the Brigantes, and by the construction of some of the great roads.

quorum: probably 'which things' (cp. *A.* 3. 63, 1), not only the *praesidia. Fiducia* is causal abl.

Monam: Anglesey, mentioned by Caesar, who perhaps confounds it with Man (*B. G.* 5. 13, 3), and by Pliny, who says it was 200 miles from Camulodunum (2. 75, 187). In *A.* 14. 29, 3, Tacitus calls it *incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum*, and describes graphically the attack on this Druid stronghold (c. 30). Agricola finally subdued it (c. 18).

rebellibus: a word almost wholly poetical before Tacitus.

terga occasioni patefecit, 'exposed his rear to opportunity', i.e. 'to attack', a novel expression with a bold personification of *occasio* (for which cp. c. 18, 1; 24, 3).

CHAPTER XV

§ 1. **Namque**, &c. Tacitus makes no mention here of any special grievances, other than the ordinary *mala servitutis*, the *cuncta magnis imperiis obiectari solita* (*H.* 4. 68, 7): whereas in the *Annals* (14. 31, 2) he specifies the exactions levied on the Iceni after the death of their king Prasutagus, the outrages on Boudicca and her daughters, the oppression of the Trinovantes by the veteran colonists of Camulodunum, the temple of Claudius as a standing monument of subjection, and the greed of the procurator.

The difference may be due to fuller later knowledge, or more probably to the biographical character of the *Agricola*. The statement of grievances is disproportionately long: its general effect, strengthened by the implied and direct criticisms which follow, is that of a drab background (fully justified historically up to A.D. 71) against which the merits and exploits of Agricola stand out in bold relief.

agitare . . . conferre. Andresen compares *agitarent . . . sermonibus, atque in medium . . . conferrent* (Liv. 3. 34, 4). Some make the two words here nearly synonymous, but it is better to distinguish them as 'discuss and compare'.

interpretando accendere, 'inflaming their wrongs by putting a construction on them', by suggestion of motives. *Accendere* is used of intensifying a feeling (hope, grief, &c.) or of aggravating the force of words (*A.* 1. 69, 7). Here *iniurias*, though it bears its ordinary sense with *conferre*, seems with *accendere* to take a pregnant meaning, that of the sense of injury rather than the words describing it ('kindling the description'). We have a still stronger figure, *dedicta accendebat*, in *A.* 12. 54, 3. *Interpretando* (cp. *deterius interpretantibus H.* 1. 14, 2) implies putting the worst construction on acts, tracing in them a set purpose to oppress and insult.

tamquam, 'as though', like ὡς, giving the ground, as it appeared to the rulers.

ex facili: a variation for the adverb. So *cetera ex facili H.* 3. 49, 1; perhaps from Ovid (*culpa nec ex facili, Am.* 2. 2, 55). Cp. *ex aequo* (c. 20, 3). Wolfflin notes that this 'Graecism' is found in Cic., Sall., Liv., and especially in Sen., but occurs oftener in the earlier works of Tacitus than in the *Annals* (*Philol.* 26, 146). Cp. *Introd.*, p. lxxxi, n. 1.

§ 2. **e quibus**, &c., 'the governor to wreak his fury on our life-blood'—as having power to order levies and forced labour (c. 31, 2) and to put to death—'the procurator on our property'. In *A.* 14. 32, 7 the extortion of the procurator Catus Decianus is given as one of the chief causes of the rising.

aeque . . . aeque: perhaps imitated from Hor. *Ep.* 1. 1, 25, 26. Cp. *Introd.*, p. lxxxv.

alterius manus, &c., 'the tools of the one (the *legatus*), his

centurions, those of the other (the *procurator*), his slaves'. *Manus*, 'instruments' (cp. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 2. 10, 27) is preferable to *manum*, 'band', 'troop' (cp. *Dial.* 37, 3; *H.* 4. 39, 4). On the position of the procurator, see note on c. 9, 5. Very similar language is used in *A.* 14. 31, 2 *ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur.* Cp. also *H.* 4. 14 *tradi se praefectis centurionibusque, quos ubi spoliis et sanguine expleverint*, &c.

miscere: perhaps (as Andresen suggests) 'inflict promiscuously', without sparing each other's victims, but more probably 'mingle with each other': cp. *minas adulationesque miscet*, *H.* 3. 74, 3.

§ **3. exceptum**, 'exempted from': cp. *excipiam sorti*, Virg. *Aen.* 9, 271.

in proelio, &c., 'in battle the spoiler is at least the stronger', and the indignity therefore less.

nunc, 'as things are': cp. c. 1, 4.

eripi domos. This bold figure is adapted to the following words, as Draeger noted. The veteran citizens of Camulodunum are referred to, who *pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando* (*A.* 14. 31, 5).

tantum, taken closely with *pro patria*: 'as though it were only for their country that they knew not how to die'.

§ **4. quantulum enim**, i.e. 'but we will show that they are wrong in counting on our cowardice, *for* what a handful are our invaders in proportion to our own numbers!'



FIG. 11. A Roman centurion From Camulodunum

sic, 'it was thus (by counting their own numbers) that': so *sic olim Sacrovirum . . . concidisse*, *H.* 4. 57, 3. Others explain less naturally 'as we will' (throw off the yoke). The plural *Germaniae* is often used (like *Galliae*) of the two Roman military governments or provinces, and sometimes, as here, of portions of Germany that were subject at the time spoken of (cp. c. 28, 1; *A.* 1. 57, 2). The allusion is to the defeat of Varus in A.D. 9.

et, 'and yet': cp. c. 3, 1 (and note); 9, 3.

§ **5. causas**, 'motives': cp. c. 30, 1.

divus Iulius: possibly used sarcastically, like *ille inter numina dicatus* (*A.* 1. 59, 7), but probably only as a distinctive title, as a Roman would use it: so in *A.* 12. 34, 3 Caratacus *vocabat nomina maiorum qui dictatorem Caesarem pepulissent.*

modo, 'if only': cp. *A.* 2. 14, 6, &c.

aemularentur: answering to *aemulemur* in *oratio recta*. The exhortation is carried on in *more*, &c.

unius aut alterius, 'one or perhaps two': cp. c. 12, 2; 40, 4.

plus impetus felicibus. *Felicibus* is omitted by the inferior MSS., and most editors had assumed a lacuna, on the ground that *impetus* and *constantia* were hardly likely to be both ascribed to the defeated, and that the antithesis required that *impetus* should apply to the victorious Romans. Novak (ed. 1) had actually hit on the right word. *Impetus* is here opposed to *constantia*, as it is opposed to *perseverantia* in Livy 5. 6, 8 and Justin 41. 2, 8 (quoted by Leuze); and *felicibus* applies to the Romans who have the advantage for the time.

§ 6. **fuerit**, equivalent to *fuit* in *oratio recta*; 'we ourselves (contrast to *deos*), in meeting to deliberate, have already taken what has been in the past the most difficult step'. To have dared this is to have overcome the difficulty of disunion (c. 12, 2), and to dare all (*nam qui deliberant desciverunt*, *H.* 2. 77, 6).

porro develops the argument, 'and indeed' or 'but' (so in *A.* 3. 34, 8; 58, 1, &c.). Elsewhere it adds a new argument ('further'), as in c. 31, 4; *G.* 2, 2, &c.

deprehendi, i.e. to hesitate until you are detected. The same sentiment is expressed in *H.* 1. 21, 5; 81. 1.

CHAPTER XVI

§ 1. **in vicem**. Tacitus, as Andresen notes, uses both *in vicem* and *inter se* with passives as well as actives; mutual agents being also mutual patients. For other uses cp. c. 6, 1; 24, 1; 37, 5. The phrase *his vocibus instincti* is found in Livy 9. 40, 7.

Boudicca. This form of a name very variously read in MSS. is generally adopted from the Med. text of *A.* 14. 37, 5, and is explained to mean 'Victoria' (Holder, *s.v.*; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], p. 284); cp. p. xlix, n. The popular form *Boadicea* is a mere error of some printed editions, and has no meaning in Celtic. The same is the case with the popular form *Caractacus* for *Caratacus*.

neque enim sexum. A queen of the Brigantes, Cartimandua, also occurs (*A.* 12. 36, 1; *H.* 3. 45, 1); and Boudicca is made to say in *A.* 14. 35, 1 *solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare*. But both these cases seem exceptional. The subjects of the former are said to have rebelled, *stimulante ignominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur* (*A.* 12. 40, 5), and the general evidence respecting Celtic peoples is against the statement made by Tacitus here (Rhys, p. 66).

sumpsere . . . bellum. This phrase, probably taken from the ordinary *sumere arma*, is frequent in Tacitus, Sallust, and Livy, and may have been borrowed from Greek writers (πόλεμον ἤραντο, Thuc. 3. 39, 3). Cp. also *proelium sumpsere* (*H*. 2. 42, 3).

sparsos, &c. In *A*. 14. 33, 4 the Britons are described as only attacking defenceless places abounding in plunder, *omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium*.

castella . . . praesidiis. The Romans used two distinct classes

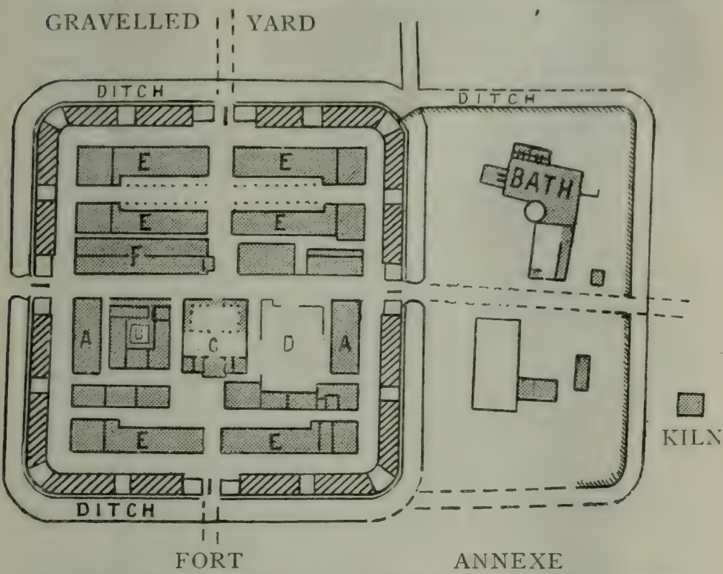


FIG. 12. General Plan of the Roman fort at Gellygaer. A, Granaries; B, Commandant's House; C, Head-quarters; D, Doubtful; E, Barracks; F, Stabling (?). (After plans by Mr. J. Ward.)

of permanent fortified posts, *castra* and *castella*, corresponding to the division of the army into legions and auxilia. (1) *Castra*, each 50 to 60 acres in area, were garrisoned from Domitian's time by one legion each, i. e. nearly 6,000 men, almost all infantry. (2) *Castella* were far smaller posts of varying area, 2 to 7 acres, each garrisoned by one 'cohort' (infantry) or one 'ala' (cavalry), either 500 or 1,000 men strong. The *castra* were the larger central posts, —in Britain: York, Chester, Caerleon, and for a time Lincoln. The *castella* were dotted along roads at strategic points (river-

crossings, &c.) or along frontiers; in North England there were at one time or another at least fifty or sixty such small posts. In English *castra* should be rendered by 'fortress' (not 'camp', which implies canvas and temporary occupation) and *castellum* by 'fort'. Fig. 12 shows the internal arrangements of a normal *castellum*, built perhaps twenty years after Agricola left Britain.

Praesidia is a general term, often equivalent to *castella* (c. 20, 3, and so sometimes in inscriptions, *Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1177).

coloniam, Camulodunum: cp. c. 14, 1. In *A.* 14. 31, 7; 32, 4, it is stated that Camulodunum was unfortified, and that its scanty garrison occupied the precinct of the temple of Claudius, which was stormed in two days. The still existing and very perfect Roman walls of Colchester were built after the suppression of the revolt, though some parts belong to later times (cp. *J. R. S.* ix. 141 ff.). Part of the first-century wall is reproduced in Fig. 13. Prof. Haverfield noted that the large bronze head, closely resembling Claudius, which was found by itself not many years ago near Woodbridge in Suffolk, may be a relic of the loot. Not improbably it was torn from the temple of Claudius and thrown away later.

ut sedem, 'looking upon it as the head-quarters'. In *A.* 14. 31, 6, the temple is mentioned as especially regarded *quasi arx aeternae dominationis*.

in barbaris, 'usual among barbarians', equivalent to an attributive adjective, as its position shows (cp. 6, 3 note). *E* adds *ingeniis* after *barbaris*, which the inferior MSS. (*A* and *B*) omit, either by way of correction or (as elsewhere) by mistake. The omission seems a distinct improvement, and A. Schöne has made the plausible suggestion that in the archetype, an uncial MS., *barbaris saevitiae* formed one line, which was skipped by a copyist, so that he wrote *nec ullum in genus omisit ira et*. This was read as, or altered to, *ingeniis*. Then the true text was written over the line and *ingeniis* perhaps erased by dots underneath, but the next copyist included them in the text (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1912, 273).

In *A.* 14. 33, 6, Tacitus says that the Britons were bent not on making prisoners, but on slaughter and the gibbet, on burning and crucifying, and states that the important towns of London and Verulam were sacked, and that the number of *cives* and *socii* massacred was 70,000, and the Ninth legion was cut to pieces.

ira et victoria personified, 'fury and (the arrogance of) victory'. A similar, but softened, expression is used in *A.* 14. 38, 4, where it is said that a successor to Suetonius would be without *hostili ira et superbia victoris*. The phrase is not a hendiadys (*ira victorum*).

§ **2. quod nisi**: the negative of *quod si*, used by Tacitus only in this treatise (c. 26, 4; and *quod ni*, c. 37, 4).

subvenisset. An account of his march is given in *A.* 14, 33 (cp. Pelham's note there). He marched ahead of his main force, along Watling Street, to London, but was unable to save either that town or Verulam. In his great battle, fought probably in the

Midlands (on Watling Street), he had with him the Fourteenth legion, a detachment of the Twentieth, and auxiliaries making up the total to 10,000 men. The battle is described in *A.* 14. 34-37.

fortuna: best taken as abl.

veteri patientiae, 'to its old submission' (submissiveness, c. 15,



FIG. 13. Part of the city wall of Camulodunum
From a photograph by Gill & Son, Colchester

1). This is true in so far as the Britons ventured no more battles; but the context shows, and the account in *A.* 14. 38 further describes, the continuance of a stubborn passive resistance, and the devastation of rebel districts by troops quartered upon them.

tenentibus (for *retinentibus*). One of the difficulties of this much discussed passage is that of taking this participle as concessive, 'although very many still retained their arms'. The insertion

proposed are violent, and the ellipse of such a word as *tamen* or *etsi*, though beyond anything usual even in Tacitus, may be tolerated as one of the many points in which the *Agricola* seems exceptional. The use of *et* for *et tamen* may be compared (c. 3, 1; 8, 3, &c.).

proprius, 'personal' (cp. *H.* 3. 45, 1, &c.) implies that they were specially afraid as having been ringleaders. *Propius* could be explained as *propius agitabat quam conscientia*, &c.: cp. *propius metuens*, Sil. It. 1, 32 (Nipp. *Rh. Mus.* xix. 98). Their consciousness that they were rebels would have alarmed them anyhow, but the fear arising from his character touched them more closely still: they feared that he would deal more severely than any other legatus would. But *propius* is merely an error of the inferior MSS. (*AB*). The inverse error, *proprior* for *propior*, is made by the best MSS. (*ET*) in c. 23, and by *B* both there and in c. 6.

ne quamquam egregius cetera, &c. *Egregius cetera* is perhaps an echo of Livy 1. 35, 6. *Ne quamquam* is the best correction of the MSS. *nequaquam*, and is apparently made in the margin of *E* and *A*. The same error occurs in *H.* 4. 68, 1. Wex's correction *ni*, taken with *restituit* (in the sense of *restituisset*: cp. c. 4, 4), rests on the ground that the simple indicative *restituit* would state what is not in accordance with fact or context (but see note above on *veteri pat.*), and that a clause conceding their enemy's eminence in other respects forms no part of the British point of view. To this it has been replied that the qualities implied by *cetera* might be such as did concern subjects: they might say that, though they had no reason to fear his corruptibility or iniquity, they did fear his mercilessness to rebels. But it does seem true that (with *ne*) Tacitus, straining after conciseness, has mixed up the view held at Rome with his statement of the fears felt by the provincials (see on *igitur* below). A further objection to *ni* is that the interposition of *tenentibus . . . agitabat*, as a long parenthetical clause, between *restituit* and *ni* is very awkward; whereas *timor*, *ne* go well together.

in deditos, 'against them if they surrendered'.

ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor. This correction is generally accepted, but it is open to various interpretations. Wex, who made it, explained the meaning to be 'as avenging every wrong done by each individual (ringleader)', but *suae* should refer to Suetonius. Others construe *cuiusque iniuriae ut suae*, 'avenging every wrong as if it were his own', a meaning similar to that which would be given by reading *quisque* ('as any one avenging his own wrong would act'). But *suae cuiusque* can hardly be separated; the Latin expression would be very obscure; and the phrase clearly gives the reason for the *proprius timor* of individuals, as Wex and Kritz noted. It seems best, therefore, to interpret the phrase as equivalent to *ut suam quamque* (not *cuiusque*) *iniuriam ulciscens*, 'as avenging every wrong done to him', *ut* being used with causal force (not 'as avenging every wrong done to him by

individuals'). For *suus quisque* cp. *A*. 14. 27, 4 ***sui cuiusque** ordinis militibus*; Caes. *B. C.* 1. 83, 2; Livy 25. 17, 5, &c.

§ **3. missus igitur**, &c. *Igitur*, i.e. because various districts continued to resist (and the Roman government shared the provincials' fears and disapproved of harsh measures). Tacitus' thought flits between Britain and Rome and is loosely expressed. The circumstances are given more fully and clearly in *A*. 14. 38-39, where it is stated that a new procurator (succeeding Decianus) held out hopes to the people that Suetonius would be replaced by a milder governor (*clementer deditis consulturum*), and also wrote against him to Nero, who sent out his freedman Polyclitus to make inquiry, and on his report recalled Suetonius after a brief interval on a slight pretext. *Missus* is to be taken as a participial clause; such clauses are often used by Tacitus for conciseness.

Petronius Turpilianus: consul in A.D. 61 (*A*. 14. 29, 1), probably for six months, as was usual in Nero's reign (Suet. *Ner.* 15), and sent out in the autumn (*ibid.* 39, 4). The inscription quoted by Furneaux in his note on the latter passage is irrelevant (Dessau, no. 3534, cp. *Journ. Rom. Stud.* iii, p. 305). Petronius must have returned to Rome by A.D. 63-64, when he was *curator aquarum* (Frontin. *Aq.* 102). He received *triumphalia* in A.D. 65 (*A*. 15. 72, 2), and was put to death, as a friend of Nero, by Galba in A.D. 68 (*H*. 1. 6, 2).

tamquam, 'as supposed to be', giving the ground of the government's action (cp. c. 15, 1, &c.). Tacitus might mean that the real cause of change was the intrigue of the procurator and freedman; but *tamquam* does not always imply a fictitious reason (cp. *A*. 3. 72, 4, and note).

novus, 'a stranger to': cp. *novusque dolori*, Sil. It. 6, 254. *Paenitentiae*, abstract for concrete.

compositis prioribus, 'having pacified the previous turbulence'. Cp. *compositis praesentibus* in *A*. 1. 45, 1. More could hardly have been expected in two years; so that the *nihil ultra ausus* and the fuller statement (*A*. 14. 39, 5), *non inritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit*, are unjust criticisms.

Trebellio Maximo: fully named L. Trebellius Maximus Pollio, consul with Seneca probably in A.D. 56 or 55 (see *Prosopographia*, s. v.). He was governor of Britain A.D. 63-69, and was still alive in A.D. 72, when he was *magister Arvalium* (*CIL*. vi. 2053).

§ **4. et nullis . . . experimentis**, 'and of no military experience' (for the abstract *experientia*, as in c. 19, 1, &c.). The use of *et* before a negative is especially common in Tacitus (Draeger, § 111). The concise abl. of quality and the corresponding genitive become much more frequent in the *Annals*.

curandi, 'of administration'. Cp. *qui curarent*, *A*. 11. 22, 8; so often in Sallust. Here, as Andresen points out, the juxtaposition of *provinciam* softens the absolute use of the word.

didicere iam, &c., 'the natives too now learnt to condone

seductive vices'. Cp. *blandiente inertia*, *H.* 5. 4, 4, and the similar ironical expression in c. 21 *delenimenta vitiorum*. *Ignoscere* implies toleration of what was previously disliked, and the 'attractive weaknesses' appear to be Roman ways of life. Agricola was not the first to encourage Romanization (c. 21), see *Introd.*, p. xxxvii. Furneaux explained the *vitia* as those which sapped the energy of their Roman conquerors and *ignoscere* as an understatement for 'welcomed'. But this gives a strained reference to *blandientibus*, and such *vitia* must have been welcomed before.

civilium armorum = *civilis belli* (that of A.D. 69).

discordia, 'mutiny'. So in *A.* 6. 3, 2, &c.

§ 5. **indecorus**, 'unhonoured', i.e. despised. This form occurs frequently, *indecoris* (of the inferior MSS.) nowhere else in Tacitus.

Editors usually punctuate after *humilis*, taking *vitata ira* as causal abl. and *fuga ac latebris* as instrumental, but this seems clumsy and less natural.

precario, 'on sufferance'. The later developments of the mutiny are described in *H.* 1. 60, where it is stated that the feeling against Trebellius was inflamed by one of the *legati legionum* (see on c. 7. 5), and Trebellius was at last obliged to flee to Vitellius. This however cannot be the *fuga* here spoken of, which occurred at an earlier stage and resulted in his retaining nominal control.

ac velut pacta, &c., 'and a bargain as it were having been struck giving the army licence and the general his life, the mutiny came to a standstill without bloodshed'. Cp. *H.* 2. 15 *ac velut pactis indutiis . . . revertere.* The reading of the first hand of *E* can be retained as it stands with the correction of *facta* to *pacta* and the retention of *et* before *seditio*: *ac velut pacta*, &c., being taken with *precario praefuit* and *et* meaning 'and so', but the long participial tail drags unpleasingly behind. The whole sentence runs smoothly, if *et* be omitted; and the conjunction is often dropped by copyists and sometimes inserted afterwards (as by *E* in c. 20, 3) or wrongly inserted (as in c. 15. 4). The correction of *et* to *ea* is not acceptable, because in that case Tacitus could hardly have failed to mention the final development, which drove Trebellius out of Britain (see preceding and following note). The confusion of *pacta* and *facta* and generally of *p* and *f* is very common. The participle *pactus* is used by Tacitus both actively and passively; otherwise the verb is used only passively and very rarely. The reading here adopted agrees with the view of C. John.

The second hand of *E* preferred the variant, *ac velut pacti, exerc. licentiam, dux salutem.* Obviously one or other reading is conjectural. With this reading *sunt* can be supplied, but not easily, and the whole sentence becomes cumbrous; it is also a distinct (though perhaps not decisive) objection that Tacitus does not use *pactus sum* transitively. To supply *essent* would be, as Furneaux said, to go beyond the general limits within

which Tacitus uses this ellipse, the two instances quoted (*A.* 1. 7, 1 and *H.* 1. 85, 5) being not fully parallel. To alter *et* (with Halm, followed by W. Heraeus) to *esset* would be possible, as *et* might easily be the débris of ē& (once used by *E*), but *esset* is surely impossible after *pacti*. *Essent* would be difficult palaeographically and would be open to the objection based on Tacitus' use of *paciscor*. Taking *pacti*, Prof. A. C. Clark ingeniously suggests *salutem* ⟨*tenuit*⟩ *et*, but such a change is unnecessary. (Older discussions of the passage by Nipperdey and Wölfflin may be found in *Rh. Mus.* 19, 105 and *Philol.* 26, 98.)

seditio sine sanguine stetit, 'the mutiny came to a standstill without bloodshed'. The omission of this sentence (as proposed by Wex) would give the description a weak and abrupt ending; and the sense of *stetit* is sufficiently justified by *A.* 12. 22, 3; *H.* 4. 67, 3, &c.; also Plin. *Ep.* 5. 11, 3 (*nescit . . . liberalitas stare*). It is curious that nothing is here said of the final flight of Trebellius (see notes on *precario* and on c. 7. 5).

§ **6. Vettius Bolanus**: governor A.D. 69–71. See on c. 8, 1.

agitavit Britanniam disciplina, 'harassed Britain by keeping his army in training', an ironical expression explained by the following words.

nisi quod, 'except that' (cp. c. 6, 1): i.e. the only difference being that he was not, like Trebellius, *per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus* (*H.* 1. 60, 1).

et nullis: see above, § 4. The abl. here seems to be causal.

CHAPTER XVII

§ **1. recuperavit**: an exaggerated expression. Paulinus could rightly be said to have 'recovered' a virtually lost province (c. 5, 4), and Cerialis had done the same in Lower Germany; but here Vespasian could only be said to have re-established a fully authoritative government. Suet. says of Vespasian, *incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque* (c. 1).

magni duces, sc. *fuerunt*. Cp. c. 33, 1, &c.

minuta, sc. *est*. Gudeman would transpose the following *et* to precede *minuta*, because in an asyndetic series, like this, the last clause is usually connected by *et* when it adds a new thought or a more general idea or sums up the result of the preceding statements (cp. c. 13, 5). But Tacitus does not always conform to this rule.

§ **2. Petilius Cerialis** (see on c. 8, 2): governor probably from the spring of A.D. 71 to that of A.D. 74.

Brigantum. This name (taken by Rhys to mean 'freemen' but in all probability signifying 'hill-dwellers' from Celt. *brig*, cp. 'burg', 'berg') is probably that of a confederacy including several subordinate tribes, which extended over the whole country north of the Trent and Humber from sea to sea. Their northern limit would

seem from Ptolemy (2. 3, 10) to have been somewhere near the Tyne-Solway isthmus, apparently a little south of it. But they appear to have extended beyond Carlisle, if we may judge from the occurrence of a dedication to *deae Brigantia*, identified with Victory, at Birrens in Dumfriesshire (Dessau, 4718) and from the fact that the destruction of Birrens shortly after A. D. 150 was due apparently to the Brigantes (*Introd.*, p. li). For their earlier relations with Rome, see *A.* 12. 32, 3; 36, 1; 40. 3. They are spoken of in c. 31, 5 as having joined Boudicca, and they were certainly in arms under Venutius in A. D. 69 (*H.* 3. 45). For their submission to Cerialis and subsequent hostility, see *Introd.*, p. liv.

perhibetur: cp. *perhibent* (c. 10, 6). In Agricola's time they must have been perhaps the best known of all Britons; but their numerical superiority to all others might still be only matter of rumour till the extreme north was more fully explored.

adgressus, aoristic.

aut victoria amplexus est aut bello, 'embraced within the range of victory or war'. *Amplexus* (cp. c. 25, 1) appears to express the range of his operations, which resulted in the permanent conquest (*victoria*) of one portion of their territory and the over-running (*bello*) of another. Prof. Haverfield noted that Tacitus' language implies that only the southern part of the Brigantes was conquered by Cerialis, and that the evidence of pottery finds in Cumberland and Westmorland suggests that Carlisle was not occupied till Agricola (cp. *Introd.*, p. li). Cerialis' annexations, however, appear to have extended some distance beyond the latitude of York: cp. *Introd.*, pp. lv f.

§ 3. **alterius**, 'any other' (than such a man as Frontinus). On the use of this genit. for that of *alius* (which is never used by Tacitus and very rarely by other authors), cp. c. 5, 4, and note.

curam, 'the administration'. Cp. note on *curandi* (c. 16, 4).

obruisset, 'would have effaced': cp. c. 46, 4, and *splendore aliorum obruebantur*, *Dial.* 38, 2.

subiit sustinuitque. The former verb was omitted by the first hand of *E* and, though written above by the second hand and correctly inserted in the text of *T*, was lost in the later MSS., *A* and *B*. Most editors suspected a lacuna, and Halm suggested (though he afterwards gave up) the correct restoration.

molem, so used elsewhere of the burden of war. Frontinus also, no doubt, continued the conquest of the Brigantes.

Iulius Frontinus: author of the extant treatises *de aquaeductis* and *strategematôn*, praetor urbanus A. D. 70. He must have been consul before he was legatus of Britain; and Borghesi inferred from an inscription in which only the letters *on* survive that he was consul immediately after Cerialis in July A. D. 74. But in that case Britain would have been some months without a legatus, and it is more probable that he was consul earlier, and succeeded Cerialis in Britain early in A. D. 74 (Waddington, *Fastes des prov. Asiatiques*,

no. 103). The consul of A.D. 74 was probably, as Prof. Stuart Jones suggests, M. Hirrius Fronto, consular governor of Galatia and Cappadocia in A.D. 78–80. Frontinus was *curator aquarum* in A.D. 97, cos. II with Trajan after the death of Nerva in Feb. A.D. 98, cos. III (again with Trajan) in Jan. A.D. 100. It has been thought from his mention of Domitian's German war of A.D. 83 (see on c. 39, 2) that he may have served in it. He died in A.D. 103 or 104 (Plin. *Ep.* 4. 8, 3, published in 104). He forbade the erection of a monument to himself on the ground that his memory would endure if his life deserved it (Plin. 9. 19, 6).

quantum licebat, i.e. as far as a subject could become great under an emperor. So Memmius Regulus is called *in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus* (*A.* 14. 47, 1). Gudeman is clearly wrong in taking the words with *subiit sustinuitque.*

Silurum: see c. 11, 2, and note. Their pugnacity is dwelt upon in *A.* 12. 33, 1; 39, 3–4; 40, 2.

super = *praeter*, 'besides'. So in *A.* 1. 59, 2, &c., and often in Livy.

eluctatus, 'surmounted'. So *nives eluctantibus*, *H.* 3. 59, 3.

CHAPTER XVIII

§ **1. vices**: alternations of success and disaster, energy and inactivity, by which the *status* had been brought about.

media iam aestate transgressus. The question whether this was the summer of A.D. 77 or 78 is discussed in Appendix I. Tacitus' language in c. 9, 7 combined with the lateness of Agricola's arrival favours 77, and the other facts can perhaps be made to harmonize with this date.

Aestas normally meant to a Roman (as 'summer' means to us) mid-May to mid-August, and it is probably so used here, though in the sequel Tacitus uses *aestas* of the campaigning season, which included early autumn. *Iam* implies that Agricola arrived late, and is further explained by *cum et milites*, &c. *Transgressus* (sc. *in Britanniam*), 'crossed' the Channel to Britain (cp. Gerber-Greef, *Lex.*, s.v.). Some have interpreted the phrase as applying to the whole journey or as marking the date of departure from Rome, but Tacitus' use of *transgredior* (of crossing the sea, a river, a mountain, a boundary) does not support this interpretation, which also seems unsuitable to the sentence taken as a whole.

velut: like *tamquam*, giving their opinion, 'as though campaigning for this year were dropped'. Cp. *exterritae, velut Nero adventaret*, *H.* 2. 8, 1.

occasionem, 'their opportunity': cp. c. 14, 4. *Verterentur*, deponent, 'were turning their thoughts'. The winter was their favourable time (c. 22, 3).

§ **2. Ordovicum.** These people, who occupied most of central

and north Wales, had been associated with the Silures under the rule of Caratacus (*A.* 12. 33, 2). The name has been thought to mean 'hammerers', from their use of the axe hammer as a weapon. It survives in various modern names of the Snowdon district, Orddwy, Din-orddwig, &c. (Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 308).

alam, an auxiliary regiment of cavalry. *Introd.*, p. lxxiv.

agentem, 'stationed', often so used of soldiers.

obtriverat, 'had annihilated' (so in *A.* 15. 11, 1: *H.* 4. 76, 1). It is properly used of those crushed by a mass.

erecta (*est*), 'was excited', as in *A.* 14. 57, 3, &c. Cp. *erectum ingenium*, c. 4, 5. The verb is so used in Cic. and Livy, but more commonly with *ad aliquid*, or *aliqua re*.

§ **3. quibus bellum volentibus erat**, 'those who wished for war'. This Greek attracted dative is used by Sallust and Livy. Cp. *quibus invitis aut cupientibus erat*, *A.* 1. 59, 1.

animum opperiri, historical infin., 'waited to see his temper' before actually breaking out (cp. *A.* 2. 69, 4). *Ac* seems to have the meaning 'and yet': cp. *et* (c. 9, 3).

transvecta: so *transvectum est tempus*, *H.* 2. 76, 6, the only similar instance. The remainder of the summer seems to have been spent in taking over the command, forming his plans, and concentrating his forces.

numeri, 'detachments'. So in *H.* 1. 6, 5; 87, 1.

praesumpta, 'was taken for granted', *apud militem* being equivalent to *animo militum*.

tarda et contraria might be predicate of all the preceding clauses (sc. *erant*), but is better taken in apposition to them: cp. *promissa* (*H.* 4. 19, 1), *inania* (*A.* 16. 8, 1), &c. *Tardus*, in the sense of 'retarding', is poetical.

suspecta, 'suspected districts'. So *neglecta* (*H.* 3. 69, 5), *praesentia* (*A.* 3. 38, 6). *Potius* is an adjective.

vexillis, 'detached corps', serving under a *vexillum* instead of their proper *signa*; also called *vexillationes* (Inscr.), and the men *vexillarii* (*A.* 1. 38, 1, &c.). He may have had one such body, from 500 to 1,000 strong (or more), from each of his legions.

modica = *parva*, which was common and colloquial in Tacitus' time. In his developed style *parvus* is dropped except in certain old phrases and antitheses, and it disappears from late Latin (*Introd.*, p. lxxxiii).

ante agmen: sc. *incedens*. Cp. c. 35, 4. Such a position could be justified only in exceptional circumstances, and may be merely rhetorical eulogy.

erexit aciem, 'marched his troops up-hill' (a fuller expression in c. 36, 2; *H.* 3. 71, 1; 4. 71, 5). It is a military term used also by Livy.

§ **4. instandum famae**, 'prestige must be followed up'. Cp. *A.* 13. 8, 4, &c.

prout prima cessissent, 'according to the issue of the first

attack would be the terror inspired by his other operations'. *Ceteris* is neuter: *cessissent*, 'turned out', as in *bene cedere*. We should expect 'so would be the prestige of his arms in the future', as in *H.* 2. 20, 3, &c. But Tacitus passes from the general thought to the particular case of Agricola, whose first operation had inspired terror.

Monam: see c. 14, 4.

a cuius. The preposition, omitted by the MSS. here but read in *H.* 1. 90, 1, has dropped out after *insulā*. Virgil's *acie revocaveris* (*G.* 4, 88) seems to be the only undisputed use of the simple abl. with this verb.

possessione, 'occupation'. Cp. *A.* 2. 5, 4.

intendit, usually without *animo*, when followed by an infinitive.

§ **5. ut in subitis**, 'as was natural (or, as usually) in hastily formed plans'. Cp. c. 11, 1. *Dubiis consiliis*, the reading of the inferior MSS., would mean wavering or uncertain plans.

ratio et constantia, 'the resource and decision'.

auxiliarium: probably his Batavians (cp. c. 36, 1), who were famed for their skill in this style of swimming (*H.* 4. 12, 3; *A.* 2. 8, 3).

quibus nota vada. The natural meaning would be that they knew the fords of this particular channel (from information gained locally); but we should expect Tacitus to have noted the source of their information, and the clause taken as a whole seems to favour the more usual interpretation that they were familiar with, experienced about, fords, i. e. that they knew generally how to find their way across channels or rivers by fords (or rather shallows). The same, perhaps, is the meaning of *notis vadis persultabant* in *H.* 5. 15. Some have thought that British auxiliaries must be meant, but he does not seem to have used these till later (c. 29, 2).

seque et. In this combination of conjunctions, used frequently by Tacitus after Sallust and Livy, *que* is almost always joined to *se*, *sibi*, or *ipsi*: cp. Draeger, § 123.

qui mare, like *qui navis*, is rhetorical amplification, to express vividly the thoughts in the minds of the islanders. They were looking out for a fleet, for ships, for an attack by sea, not imagining that the sea could be crossed like a river. *Naves* or *classes* is often added to *mare* for closer definition or for emphasis: *H.* 2. 12 *possessa per mare et naves maiore Italiae parte*; *H.* 3. 1 *superesse . . . mare, classes*. So *mare ac naves* frequently in Livy (cp. Weissenborn on 22. 19, 7). Suetonius had used *naves plano alveo* (*A.* 14. 29, 3).

Philippson has put forward an ingenious suggestion that *mare* means 'high tide', during which alone ships can approach the island, whereas the Romans used the ebb (*Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1914, 508). But to a Roman *mare* would not suggest 'tide' (the Mediterranean being tideless), and for the flowing tide Tacitus uses *mare adcrescens* (c. 10) or *aestus adlabens*. It is better, therefore, to take the whole phrase as a graphic variation of a common expression.

invictum, 'invincible', as often in Sallust, Livy, &c.

crediderint. The historical perf. subj. with *ut*, frequent in *Hist.* and *Ann.*, is used only here and in c. 20. 3, in the minor works: Draeger. § 182. The consequence is referred back to the time of the cause.

§ 6. **clarus ac magnus haberi**: from Sall. *Cat.* 53, 1 (*Cato clarus atque magnus habetur*).

quippe cui. Tacitus uses this form here only, *ut qui* frequently.

ingredienti. For the present pcple., cp. *revertentem* c. 9, 1.

officiorum ambitum, 'courting compliments (attentions)': cp. c. 40, 3, and *venerantium officia* (*A.* 2. 1, 2), &c. Peter takes the *ambitus* to have been on the part of the subjects; but the expression rather resembles *officia provocans* (*H.* 5. 1, 2).

§ 7. **nec** applies both to *usus* and *vocabat* ('he did not—nor did he'), as in *A.* 14. 32, 4 *neque motis senibus et feminis iuventus sola restitit*.

victos continuisse, apparently his own modest expression, he had 'kept in hand tribes already conquered', and did not call that a campaign or a victory. Cp. *Africam . . . continuit*, *H.* 1. 49, 7.

laureatis: sc. *litteris*, expressed in Liv. 5. 28, 13, &c. The custom of wreathing dispatches announcing victory with bay leaves is described by Pliny (*N. H.* 15. 30, 133).

aestimantibus, 'when men considered'; probably a concise abl. abs., such as is often used by Tacitus (and sometimes by earlier writers) not only where a subject has been recently expressed, but also where it can be inferred from the context: cp. *H.* 1. 27 *requirentibus*. Draeger. § 212 b.

quanta . . . spe, &c., 'how great must be his hopes for the future, when', &c., the modal abl. containing the predicate of the sentence. Cp. *leviore flagitio interficietis*, *A.* 1. 18, 5.

tam magna, somewhat stronger than *tanta*: cp. *G.* 37, 1; *A.* 11. 36, 3.

CHAPTER XIX

§ 1. **animorum**, 'the feelings'. *Prudens* is so used in *A.* 3. 69, 8; *H.* 2. 25, 1.

experimenta: cp. c. 16, 4.

§ 2. **domum**, his official establishment, freedmen, slaves, &c. *Primam*, the reading of the best MS., would mean 'before reforming those of others'.

nihil per libertos, &c. Such an omission of *agere* is frequent in letters, and not rare in oratory, e.g. *nihil per senatum, multa . . . per populum*, Cic. *Phil.* 1. 2, 6. The freedmen of the governor were, on a smaller scale, apt to resemble those of the emperor. A reform promised by Nero at his outset was *discretam domum et rem publicam* (*A.* 13. 4, 2).

publicae rei: as in *G.* 13, 1.

studiis privatis, 'from his personal feelings', as opposed to the recommendation and entreaties of others.

adscire, 'to take upon his staff', usually with some explanatory word added. For the employment of centurions on special service, cp. c. 15, 2; *A*. 14. 31. 2; *H*. 4. 14, 2. Privates were promoted by the governor (and also by his higher military officers) for special work, military, administrative and clerical; holders of the higher posts ranked as non-commissioned officers (*principales*), the others were *immunes*, exempt from certain ordinary duties; all were generically *beneficiarii*, though most had special titles designating their particular form of service. Cp. *H*. 4. 48; Pliny, *ad Trai*. 21, 27.

§ **3. exsequi**, 'to punish'; here alone in this sense in Tacitus, but often in Livy.

commodare is here used in its wider and not uncommon sense as the equivalent of *praebere* (cp. c. 32, 1 and the English 'lend' in certain phrases). With *magnis* the sense of *tantum* is to be supplied.

nec poena semper: supply *uti* from *contentus esse*. The zeugma is unusually harsh, the sense to be supplied being so remote; but cp. *sumpsit* from *permisit* in *A*. 2. 20, 2. *Poena* has been taken as nominative (sc. *fuit*), but this would be a very awkward interpolation among the historical infinitives.

officiis, 'functions' (note on *adscire* above).

non peccaturos, 'men not likely to transgress'.

§ **4. frumenti et tributorum exactionem**. The whole passage to the end of the chapter is difficult, and is discussed at length both by commentators, especially Wex (*Proleg*. pp. 80–4), and by F. Hofmann (*De provinciali sumptu populi Romani*, Berlin, 1851), whose view is, in general, endorsed by Marquardt (*Staatsv*. ii. 103, n. 1) and Mommsen (*Staatsr*. i. 298). The Britons were subject (1) to tribute, paid in money, not in kind (*decumae*, *frumentum decumanum*) and (2), as stated here and in c. 31, 2, to requisitions of corn, partly for the use of the household and staff of the governor (*frumentum in cellam*, *frumentum aestimatum*. cp. Cic. *Verr*. II. 3. 81, 188 ff.) and partly for the provisioning of the troops (§ 5 below). The regulations respecting the grain requisitions lay not with the procurator but with the governor. The grain supplied was paid for, though the payment may have been more or less nominal, and certainly was made nominal by the abuses practised by the officials. In Britain, no doubt, the supply of corn was scarce or plentiful according to locality; and Tacitus describes the devices adopted by previous governors for their profit in either case, and abolished by Agricola. (1) When the people had not enough corn, they had to go through the form of buying from the imperial granaries, at whatever price was demanded, what would be at once re-delivered when bought, and in fact never left the granaries at all. (2) Where they had corn, they were ordered to deliver it at some great distance, and were thus induced to pay money to get excused from

this vexatious transport. Both were old tricks, already practised by Verres (see following notes).

exactionem is clearly the right reading. Some have thought that *auctionem* might refer to the increase of tribute general under Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 16): but it is hardly possible to suppose that Tacitus would so use the word, and the confusion of *auctio* with *actio* occurs elsewhere (e.g. *H.* 1. 20; cp. *actum* for *auctum*, c. 39, 1 below).

aequalitate munerum, 'by equalizing the burdens' (viz. the *frumentum* and *tributum*), but in what precise way Tacitus does not explain: he limits himself to describing the abuses abolished. Perhaps no corn was demanded from districts poor in grain, but fixed sums were made payable by way of indemnity. This would be in effect a raising of the tribute in these districts, though the money would not be paid as tribute. It would not be within the governor's power to interfere with the *tributa*.

circumcisis, &c., 'cutting off the devices for profit'.

reperta. Tacitus uses *reperire*, the literary equivalent of the popular *invenire*, sparingly in the minor works but with increasing frequency as his style develops. In the *Ann.* the proportion is ten to one (Löfstedt, *Aetheria*, p. 232 ff.).

per ludibrium, 'in mockery'. The mockery consisted in the fiction of purchase and re-delivery (see note above), and in their being kept waiting, like beggars praying for the concession, at the doors of granaries (cp. *superbis adsidere liminibus*, Sen. *Ep.* 4. 10), which were not in fact opened at all. The device of making people buy corn from his own granaries, to meet their obligations, was practised by Verres (*Verr.* II. 3. 77, 178). Instances from the later Empire are quoted by Marquardt, ii. 103, note 1. The fiction was adopted to provide a line of defence in case of prosecution.

horreis. Such imperial granaries are found in many provinces, and no doubt existed in all. They were under the control of the governor. In provinces which did not send corn to Rome they served the needs of the troops and could be used to meet the needs of the province itself or other provinces (Pliny, *Pan.* 31–2). Cp. Marquardt, ii. 135.

ultro = *adeo*, or *insuper*, 'even to buy' the corn to be treated as delivered when bought. Cp. c. 42, 1, &c.

luere pretio. *Luere* is elsewhere used by Tacitus in the sense of *expiare* and of *solvere*, but in the latter case only with *poenas* or *supplicium*. Here it is used absolutely, with the meaning 'to make amends' by a money payment, as in Livy 30. 37, 12 *cetera quae abessent aestimanda Scipioni permitti atque ita pecunia luere Carthaginienses* (sc. *placuit*). The reading of the inferior MSS., *ludere*, might be interpreted 'to go through a farce with the payment', but it is merely the mistake or correction of a copyist.

§ 5. **divortia**, &c., 'devious routes and distant districts', at which the corn was to be delivered. Cp. *pro longinquitate vel molestia*

itineris, *Cod. Theod.* 11. 1, 9. The device here described was also one of those practised by Verres and other governors (Cic. *Verr.* II. 3. 82, 190), and it continued in the fourth century (*Cod. Theod.* l. c.; 7. 4, 15, &c.). In Liv. 44. 2, 7, *divortium itinerum* means a bifurcation of roads, and the word is used in *A*. 12. 63, 1 of a line of separation, but has nowhere the sense here required. Hence nearly all older edd., except Ritter and Peter, adopted Lipsius' conjecture *devortia*, a non-existent word. *Divortia itinerum* = *diversa itinera*, the adjective bearing the meaning of 'remote', as often in Tacitus.

ut, &c. This clause is best taken as depending on *indicebatur* and explanatory of the nominatives.

proximis hibernis, concessive abl. absolute, 'even though there were permanent quarters for troops close by'. No alteration of the text is needed.

donec, &c. 'Till a service easy for all (i. e. in which there need have been no difficulty on either side) should become profitable to a few', by bribes received to escape this needless transport. The subjunctive expresses the purpose in the minds of the officials. This sense of *in promptu* is supported by Ov. *M.* 2, 86; 13, 161. Tacitus has it once elsewhere (*H.* 5. 5, 2), with the meaning 'in readiness'.

CHAPTER XX

§ **1. famam . . . circumdedit**: imitated from the Greek use of περιβάλλειν or περιτιθέναι. Cp. *H.* 4. 11, &c.

intolerantia, 'want of self-control', 'arbitrariness', 'arrogance'; so in Cic. *Clu.* 40, 112, &c.

§ **2. aestas**: that of A.D. 78 or 79. The direction of this campaign was probably northward from Chester; see *Introd.*, p. lv.

multus in agmine, 'present everywhere on the march', imitated from Sallust's description of Sulla (*Jug.* 96, 3), *in agmine . . . multus adesse.* Cp. *frequens ubique*, c. 37, 4.

modestiam, 'discipline', abstract for concrete, answering chiastically to *disiectos*, 'stragglers'.

aestuaria. Those of the west coast north of Chester are no doubt meant.

praetemptare, 'explored'; so in poets and the elder Pliny.

nihil . . . quietum pati, from Sall. *Jug.* 66, 1. So *nihil tutum pati* in Sallust and Livy.

interim: while keeping his own troops in discipline.

quo minus: with the force of *quin* as an epexegetic adversative conjunction. So often in Tacitus: cp. c. 27, 3; Draeger § 187.

excursibus, divergences from the line of march.

rursus, 'on the other hand': cp. c. 29, 1; *A.* 1. 80, 3, &c.

invitamenta pacis. The MSS. read *irritamenta*, the first *r* being corrected from *n* in the best MS. (*E*). The copyist of *A* gives above the line a correction to *incitamenta*, clearly by conjecture.

Incitari or *inritari* are used rather of motives or stimuli prompting to do something than to accept something, and, although *irritamenta* might be defended (with Lundström) on the ground that peace was equivalent to subjection and moral decline (cp. c. 21), yet *invitamenta* seems more appropriate here. Peace personified might well be said *invitare*, and persons *invitari ad pacem*; and *invitamentum*, though it occurs nowhere else in Tacitus, is used by Cicero and Livy.

§ 3. **ex aequo egerant**, 'had lived on a footing of equality with others (i.e. independent)'. *Ex aequo* is so used in *H.* 4. 64, 5, Liv. 7. 30, 2, and the elder Pliny. Elsewhere it has rather the adverbial force of 'equally': for the phrase, cp. *ex facili* in c. 15, 1.

praesidiis castellisque. On these terms, see note on c. 16, 1.

et tanta ratione curaque. *Et*, 'and indeed' (cp. c. 3, 2; 10, 4; 41, 2, &c.) emphasizes Agricola's special skill in planting forts, which is praised in c. 22, 2. There seems to be no good reason to omit *et* (which is inserted above the line by the first hand of *E*), nor to alter it to *sunt*, which Baehrens supposed to have been corrupted into *et* through an abbreviation such as *st*. (It may be noted that *sūt* is the abbreviation used by *A*, and that *E* has *ŝ* in one place but usually writes the word in full.)

pariter inlacessita. *Pariter* is usually adopted as the adverb of comparison most likely to have dropped out after *pars*. The meaning would thus be that no new tribe that ever came over to the Romans (so *transire*, *transitio* in Liv. 26. 12, 5; *H.* 3. 61, 1) was so little harassed. *Inlacessita* (a word used only here and in *G.* 36, 1) would best refer to the attacks which those who thus submitted would usually sustain from independent tribes on their frontier who regarded them as traitors, from which in this case the thoroughness of the fortifications protected them. On these forts, see *Introd.*, p. lv. If we put a full stop after *pars*, and read *Inlacessita transiit . . . hiems*, then *tanta . . . ut* has to be taken as *tanta . . . quanta*, a possible construction (cp. Nep. *Ages.* 4, 2), but one apparently avoided elsewhere by Tacitus and generally rare (cp. Nipperdey on *A.* 15. 20, 1).

CHAPTER XXI

On Agricola's policy of encouraging the Romanization of Britain, cp. *Introd.*, p. xxxvii.

§ 1. **absumpta**. The error of the manuscripts here is similar to that of the Medicean MS. in several passages of the *Annals* and *Histories* (Gerber-Greef, *Lexicon*, s. v.). *Absumere* may, but need not, imply waste of time. *Adsumpta* is not a synonym of *insumpta* (c. 23, 1), but would denote expenditure of additional time: cp. Cic. *Fam.* 7. 23 *aliquantum noctis adsumo*.

dispersi: living separately, like the Germans (*G.* 16, 1). Their few towns were in Caesar's time rather places of temporary refuge than of residence (*B. G.* 5. 21, 3). Cp. Strabo, 4. 5, 2, p. 200.

eoque = *ideoque*, as often in Tacitus and in Sallust and Livy.

faciles = *proni*, like *facili ad gaudia* (*A*. 14. 4, 2) and *faciles ad fera bella manus* (Ovid, *A. A.* 1. 592).

quieti et otio, as in c. 6, 3.

privatim . . . publice: perhaps best taken (with Gerber-Greef, *Lex.*) as referring to the subject, 'by personal (i.e. unofficial) encouragement and official assistance (grants from government funds and probably technical aid)'. Andresen refers the words to the object and takes them to mean 'as individuals . . . as communities': cp. *G.* 10, 2; *A.* 11. 17, 4, &c.

templa. We know only of one in Britain before this date, that to Claudius at Camulodunum (*A.* 14. 31, 6). The type of British

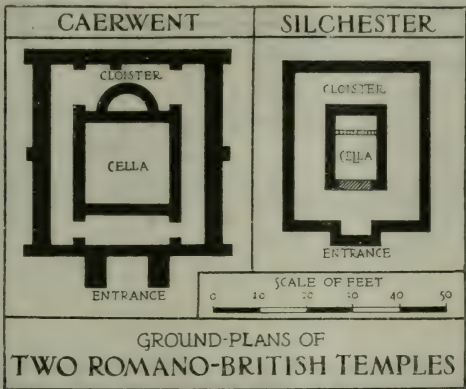


FIG. 14

temples is shown in fig. 14 (see Haverfield, *Romanization*, ed. 3, p. 36 f.).

fora, 'market-places', are found in towns built on the Roman type, and round them the chief public buildings were grouped. The British *fora* follow Roman models.

domos: so used in contrast to the blocks of inferior dwellings (*insulae*) in *A.* 6. 45, 1; 15. 41, 1. (The Roman country-houses, 'villas', now traceable in Britain would fall under the term.) Plans of British houses and of a typical Italian house are given in Figs. 15, 16; see Haverfield, *op. cit.*, p. 37 ff.

The remains of Silchester and Bath (*Vict. Hist.*, Hants i. 276, Somerset i. 222), of Caerwent and Wroxeter all imply that Romanization grew apace in the Flavian period. Probably Agricola was developing, not starting, a tendency (cp. c. 16, 4 note). How far Romano-British towns exhibit the plan and public buildings of

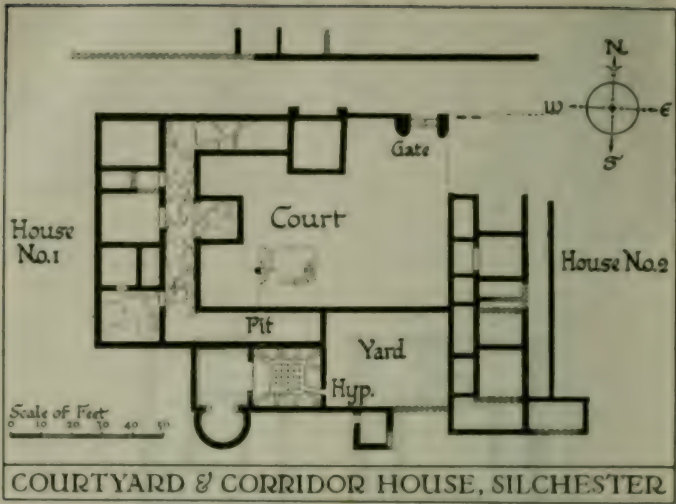


FIG. 15 Plan of British houses at Silchester

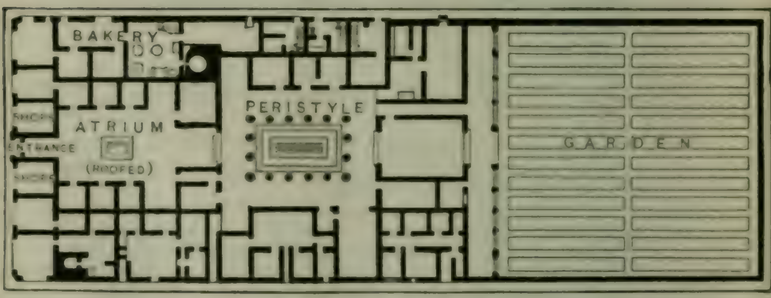


FIG. 16 Plan of an Italian house
By permission of Messrs. Cassell & Co.

a normal Roman city is shown in Haverfield, *Anc. Town-planning*, p. 127 ff., and *Romanization*, ll. cc. and p. 62 ff. A certain reluctance to be municipalized is discernible. (See figs. 17 and 18.)

castigando, with words.

honoris, &c., 'competition for honour (that of being praised) took the place of compulsion'.

§ **2**. **iam vero**, 'further' (c. 9, 3). **principum** : cp. c. 12, 1.

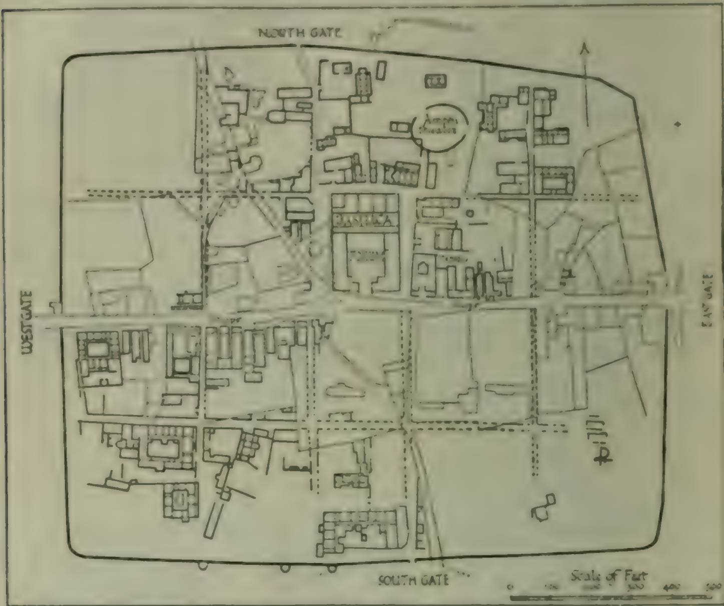


FIG. 17. Plan of Silchester.

ingenia . . . anteferre: often taken to mean that he 'expressed a preference for British abilities over Gallic industry', i.e. flattered them by saying that their native wit would do more for them than diligent culture did for the Gauls. But no such antithesis seems to be intended, any more than in the similar passage in *Dial.* 1, 4 *qui nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret*, a contrast is intended between *eloquentia* and *ingenium* (cp. Gudeman *ad loc.*). Agricola 'expressed a preference for British abilities (as brought out by training) over the trained abilities of the Gauls', implying that the training which he was providing was needed to make them the better orators. From the *studia* in which the

ingenia of both were exercised it could be seen that the British were the superior (so Andresen). As elsewhere, lucidity of expression is impaired by straining after conciseness. The premium set on eloquence in Gaul is noted in Juv. 7, 148.

linguam Romanam. Graffiti on tiles and potsherds found in the towns and country-houses show that sooner or later Latin was



PLAN OF CAERWENT

FIG. 18

spoken and written even by the lower classes in the towns. In the country it was used, at least by the upper classes. See Haverfield, *Romanization*, p. 29 ff., and fig. 19 reproduced here.

eloquentiam concupiscerent. Plutarch, in his dialogue *De defectu oraculorum* (c. 2), mentions, as nothing exceptional, the return of a rhetorician, Demetrius of Tarsus, from Britain, where he had been teaching in Agricola's time (the date of the dialogue is A.D. 83–4); he has left a memorial of his long sojourn (cc. 2, 45) in the shape of two dedications on bronze tablets found at York (Dessau, 8861 and *Hermes*, 46. 156 ff., *Eph. Epig.* ix. 560). In

A.D. 96 Martial says *dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus* (11. 3, 5). About A.D. 128 Juvenal casually speaks of British pleaders trained by Gallic eloquence (15, 111). The appearance of *legati iuridici* in Britain soon after A.D. 80 indicates an extension of Roman law courts in the island (Dessau, 1011, 1015).

§ 3. **habitus nostri honor**, sc. *apud eos erat*, 'our dress came to be esteemed'. *Habitus*, here explained by *frequens toga*, often means 'dress' (c. 39, 2), but is frequently used in a wider sense (c. 11, 2; 44, 2, &c.).

discessum, 'they went astray' from the right path (simplicity of life); so *discedere ab officio, a fide* (Cic. *Off.* 1. 10, 32; 3. 20, 79). *Descensum* would be more usual, but no alteration seems needed.

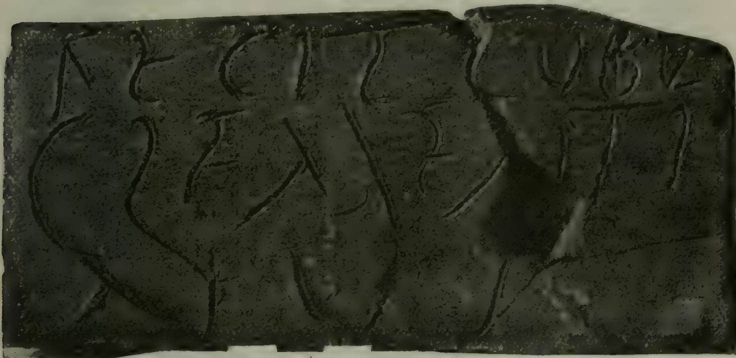


Fig. 19. Graffito on a tile from Silchester: *Fecit tubul(um) Clementinus*

delenimenta vitiorum, 'the allurements of evil ways', demoralizing luxuries: cp. *vitiis blandientibus*, c. 16, 4. Elsewhere in Tacitus *delenimentum* denotes 'a means of soothing' (*curarum*, *vitae*, &c.).

balinea. Dio (62. 6, 4) makes Boudicca deride warm baths as a Roman effeminacy. The greatest remains of Roman baths in Britain are those of Bath (Aquae Sulis). *Balinea*, not elsewhere recognized by the MSS. of Tacitus, bears the same relation to *balnea* as *balineae* to *balneae*, all of which forms are used by Tacitus.

idque: referring to all these innovations. An attraction would be usual in classical Latin (like *is . . . honos* in c. 46, 2): cp. *illud*, c. 43, 2.

humanitas, 'civilization'. Cp. *a cultu atque humanitate . . . longissime absunt*, Caes. *B. G.* 1. 1, 3.

pars, 'a characteristic': so *pars ignaviae, obsequii* (*H.* 2. 47, 6;

4. 86, 11, &c., where classical Latin would use the simple genitive. This Roman method of 'enervating' subjects is alluded to in *G.* 23, 2, and *H.* 4. 64. 5 *voluptatibus quibus Romani plus adversus subiectos quam armis valent.* The attitude of Tacitus, himself an administrator, towards the policy of conquest by assimilation is remarkable.

CHAPTER XXII

§ 1. **Tertius.** A.D. 79 or 80: *annus* personified, as in c. 7, 1.

novas gentis: cp. c. 34, 1; 38, 4. It seems to be implied that the *Britanniae nova pars* of the former year (c. 20, 3) was still within the limits of tribes already known to the Romans, such as those of the Brigantes. The advance was probably by the Eastern route from York towards the Forth, *Introd.*, p. lvi.

aperuit, 'opened up'. So *quos bellum aperuit* (*G.* 1, 1): cp. *H.* 2. 17, 1; 4. 64, 4; *A.* 2. 70, 4.

vastatis: aoristic. The term is used of people in other places in Tacitus, and *devastare* in Livy.

Tanaum., See *Introd.*, p. lvi. The name cannot be identified. The marginal variant *Taum* would suggest the river Tay (Ταούα εἴσχυσις, Ptol. 2. 3. 4); but Agricola cannot possibly have got so far thus early in his campaigns. Others think it may be the Tweed (the mouth of which is hardly to be called an estuary, but the parenthesis is possibly not genuine, see next note), or the Scottish Tyne, which reaches the sea near Dunbar, perhaps Ptolemy's Τίνα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί (see *Introd.*, p. lvi, n. 4): but it is a long way from Agricola's probable starting-point. Assuming his advance to have been along the western coast, others have identified the Tanaus with the name of the Solway Firth in Ptol. 2. 3. 2 (Ἰτούνα εἴσχυσις). But if the Solway were meant, Tacitus must have misconceived its position in making it the farthest point reached in an expedition through *novae gentes*, and not materially surpassed in the following summer, *obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta* (c. 23, 1), in which the line of the Clyde and Forth was certainly reached. Moreover, the western route to the Clyde-Forth isthmus is excluded by the paucity of remains north of Carlisle (see *Introd.*, pp. li ff.). The Celtic *Tan* ('running water') may have formed part of many names now lost.

aestuario nomen est. The parenthesis may perhaps be an interpolation, as Gaheis conjectures (Pauly, *Real-Ency.*, x. 131). Andresen has pointed out that in such parentheses Tacitus uses the genitive, not the dative, *H.* 2. 4; 3. 50.

conflictatum, 'harassed'; so *hieme conflictatus* (*H.* 3. 59, 3).

ponendis . . . castellis: such forts as Corbridge-on-Tyne, Cappuck near Jedburgh, and Newstead near Melrose. See *Introd.*, p. li.

spatium, 'time to spare': cp. *A.* 1. 35, 7.

§ 2. **adnotabant periti**: a phrase repeated in *A.* 12. 25, 4 and *H.* 3. 37, 3 with reference to antiquarians, as here to military

experts. The words following *legisse* are those of Tacitus, not of the experts.

non alium: cp. *non alias*, c. 5, 3.

opportunitates locorum, for *opportuna loca*, 'suitable sites'. Cp. *longinquitas regionum*, c. 19, 5.

pactione ac fuga desertum, 'abandoned by arrangement (with the enemy, capitulation) or by retirement (without negotiations)'. We should have expected *vel*, as in *Dial.* c. 28, 1; but *ac* may be explained by the fact that the two nouns form a pair of ideas which are almost two parts of one idea, opposed to *vi expugnatum*, (evacuation after and without negotiations): cp. *occidere et exurgere*, c. 12, 4, and *aut exercitus . . . aut legatos ac duces*, *H.* 2. 37 (quoted by Gudeman). To translate 'by capitulation and (consequent) evacuation' would be to attribute to Tacitus an improbable tautology.

nam explains the preceding words. The strong positions made it impossible to carry the forts by storm, and they were never abandoned by capitulation or voluntary evacuation, *for* they were well provisioned.

annuis copiis, 'supplies to last a year', i. e. to last a year from the beginning of a siege, practically therefore a year's reserve supplies. This interpretation accords with the archaeological facts, which show that the average military granary had storage space for a two years' ration from the time of any given harvest. See Appendix III, p. 187, n. For the use of *annuus*, cp. *A.* 3. 71, 3, &c.; for that of *copiae*, *G.* 30, 3, &c.

§ **3. intrepida ibi hiems**, 'winter was free from anxiety'. Cp. *ne mare quidem securum*, c. 30, 1.

crebrae eruptiones. These words are placed by the MSS. after *desertum*, and their transposition here is a violent proceeding, but one in which it seems necessary to acquiesce, because their retention after *desertum* appears to make it impossible to find any satisfactory explanation of the following clause, *nam adversus moras*, &c. This clause does not (with the MSS. order) appear to explain *crebrae eruptiones*, as some editors state, for the fact that a siege was futile would not explain why it was possible to take the offensive. On the other hand, the clause is a natural explanation of *pactione ac fuga desertum*, which clearly implies a siege. And just because of this implication, the difficulty is not removed by interpreting *nam* as involving an ellipse (as in c. 11, 5 and often in Tacitus), 'I do not speak of reduction by a siege, for . . .' Nor does it seem possible to make the bald statement *creb. erup.* parenthetical, so as to connect *nam* with the preceding words.

The supposition of misplacement is made easier by A. Schöne's suggestion that in the (uncial) archetype the lines were about 15 to 17 letters in length (see on c. 16, 1). If this were so, *creb. erup.* would form a line, which might be skipped by a copyist and then re-inserted four lines above its original position.

To bracket the words as an interpolation leaves their insertion unexplained, as they cannot be a gloss.

sibi quisque praesidio, i.e. no commandant of a fort required any help from outside.

inritis, 'baffled'. So used of persons in poets and post-Augustan prose.

eventibus, 'successes': cp. c. 8, 2; 27, 2; *A.* 2. 26, 3.

pensare, 'to counterbalance', a post-Augustan use for *compensare*.

iuxta = *pariter*, 'alike', an adverbial use mainly founded on Sallust, frequent in *Hist.* and *Ann.*, but here alone in the minor works.

§ 4. **intercepit**, 'took credit to himself for'. Draeger notes the use of *honos interceptus* in Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2. 2, 3. Agricola would not be present at these operations, which took place far from head-quarters.

praefectus: an officer of equestrian rank commanding an auxiliary infantry (or cavalry) regiment of 500 men, which would form the garrison of a smaller *castellum*.

habebat, 'had in him'.

et ut erat. *Et*, 'and in fact' (as in c. 10, 4, and often), has probably fallen out; so it was dropped by *E* in c. 20, 3 and 38, 3, but afterwards inserted above the line. An asyndeton would be intolerable. *Et erat ut* would be equally good, but is paleographically less easy.

comis bonis. The dative, resembling that with *mitior* in c. 16, 5, is varied to the accus. with *adversus*, as in *H.* 1. 35, 2. *Iniucundus* is not found elsewhere in Tacitus, and is generally used of things.

§ 5. **ceterum**, &c., 'but none of his resentment remained hidden away in his mind, so that (cp. c. 12, 3) you need not fear (potential, as *H.* 2. 62, 1, &c.) his silence', i.e. that he was silently brooding over his grievance, with a view to future vengeance. A contrast to Domitian is evidently suggested, who *secreto suo satiatus, optimum . . . statuit reponere odium* (c. 39, 4): cp. *quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior* (c. 42, 4). This punctuation gives an excellent sense, and no emendation is wanted. To put a comma after *supererat*, and take *secretum* as an epithet of *silentium* would yield a tautology, while the alteration of *ut* to *aut* or *vel* would contrast two words almost synonymous.

offendere, 'to give offence', by open rebuke: cp. *dum offendimus* (*A.* 15. 21, 4). It is thus contrasted with *odisse*, 'to harbour dislike'.

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 1. **Quarta**: A.D. 80 or 81.

obtinendis, 'securing' by military occupation. Cp. c. 24, 3. and *percursando quae obtineri nequibant* (*A.* 15. 8, 3), &c. The

gerundive dative of purpose, rare in the minor works, is fairly common in the *Hist.* and abundant in the *Ann.*

pateretur. The imperf. is used because the words were still applicable when he wrote (as Andresen notes). Half-conquests were not the Roman policy of the time.

inventus: sc. *erat* (with the force of *esset*), which Halm inclined to insert.

in ipsa Britannia, 'within Britain itself' = *citra finem Britanniae.* The line of the forts is that separating Britannia proper from Caledonia (cp. c. 10, 4), but the former term is generally used for the whole. With the advance beyond this line *terminus Britanniae patet* (c. 30, 4), *finem Britanniae tenemus* (c. 33, 3).

§ **2. Clota et Bodotria.** The Clyde and Forth. On this line and on the forts planted along it, see *Introd.*, pp. lx ff. The estuary of the Clyde has the same name in Ptol. 2. 3, 1; the Forth he calls Βοδερία εἴσχυσις (2. 3, 4), and the Ravenna geographer Bdora (438, 5). The name Clota is connected with that of a Celtic river goddess, and perhaps with *cloaca*, *cluo*, κλύζω.

aestibus, &c., 'carried far back (inland) by the tides of opposite seas'. For the sense of *diversus* cp. c. 11, 2, and *diversa maria*, Liv. 21. 30, 2; 40. 22, 5. The idea seems to be that the river-water is driven back by the tide.

firmabatur, 'was being securely held'. Cp. *firmatis praesidiis* (c. 14, 4, and note).

omnis propior sinus, 'the whole sweep of country nearer' (i. e. southward),—a rhetorical exaggeration or a misconception, for only the eastern half of southern Scotland was held by Agricola. See *Introd.*, p. lvii. *Sinus* is so used of a projecting stretch of land in *G.* 29, 4; 37, 1; *A.* 4. 5, 4, and in Livy and the elder Pliny, and has often no reference to sea-coast.

in aliam insulam: the tract of Caledonia, wholly cut off by the occupation of the isthmus.

CHAPTER XXIV

§ **1. Quinto . . . anno**: A.D. 81 or 82.

nave prima. This has been generally taken, with little probability, to mean 'in the first ship that crossed', i. e. as soon as navigation was practicable, in the early spring. Gudeman takes *prima* as having the force of *primum*, 'for the first time', as in *A.* 12. 19, 2; 14. 10, 2. But in both cases we should expect *prima nave*: this is the usual order (though Livy has *vere primo* in 21. 5, 5) and it appears to be uniformly observed elsewhere by Tacitus. Prof. Haverfield suggested that *prima* might be accus. plural: Agricola traversed by sea the first part of his route (*Cl. Rev.* ix. 310); but it seems hardly possible that Tacitus would have expressed this meaning by *prima transgressus.* It is probable that the text is corrupt, but no plausible emendation has been proposed.

transgressus. In the absence of other explanation, this would naturally be understood in relation to the *terminus* of c. 23, 1, the line of the two firths and the isthmus (*velut alia insula*). But Tacitus' geographical statements are rarely precise, and there appears to be some corruption in the preceding words. See next note.

ignotas ad id tempus: for the expression, cp. c. 10, 5. It is impossible to locate these tribes. They were probably in Scotland, and it is argued in *Introd.*, p. lvii, that they may have been in south-west Scotland.

quae Hiberniam aspicit, 'which faces Ireland': cp. *mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat* (*A.* 12. 32, 3), *qua . . . Pannoniam aspicit* (*G.* 5, 1). *Spectare* is more commonly so used. The locality occupied was probably the Cumberland coast or North Wales (*Introd.*, p. lviii). A sentence coupled by *-que* usually stands in close connexion with that preceding it (though no more perhaps *need* be meant than that the one act was subsequent to the other).

in spem, &c., 'with a view to hope (of invading it) rather than from fear (of Irish invaders). See *Introd.*, p. lviii. For the contrast of *in* and *ob* cp. c. 5, 2; and for *in spem*, *A.* 14. 15, 8.

si quidem (used by Tacitus only here and in *G.* 30, 1), 'since', 'inasmuch as'.

medio: often so used by Tacitus, who is fond of such local ablatives. On the geographical conception, see note on c. 10, 2.

opportuna, 'conveniently situated for', 'within easy reach of'. Cp. *insula . . . Thraeciae opportuna*, *A.* 3. 38, 3. Tacitus regarded the south coast of Ireland as much nearer to Gaul than it is: see note on c. 10, 2.

valentissimam imperii partem, i.e. Gaul, Spain, and Britain. In *H.* 3. 53, 5 Gaul and Spain are called *validissimam terrarum partem*, but here Britain seems clearly to be included. Gaul and Spain were great military recruiting districts, and in the pre-Flavian period specially heavy demands were made on them. Their economic resources were also very great: cp. *H.* 4. 74, *penes quos* (sc. *Gallos*) *aurum et opes*. In both respects the small province of Britain was of much less importance, though its military contribution was not inconsiderable.

magnis in vicem usibus, 'with great mutual advantages'. The adjectival use of *in vicem* is adopted by Tacitus from Livy. For a somewhat different use cp. c. 16, 1.

miscuerit, probably best taken, with Peter, as fut. perf., expressing what will happen when it shall have been conquered. Others take it as potential. In either case it expresses the judgement of the writer, 'will (or, would) unite'.

§ **2. spatium**: its extent.

nostri maris: the Mediterranean. So *nostri orbis* (c. 12, 3).

a Britannia, 'from those in Britain': cp. *ultra nostri orbis mensuram* c. 12, 3. Draeger, § 239.

differunt. The singular cannot satisfactorily be defended where *ingenia cultusque* are so closely coupled by the genitive *hominum* as the nearest subject: a suprascript stroke over the *r* has been lost in the MSS. The following clause is corrupt. The MSS. punctuate after *differt*, the stop in *E* being due to a later hand. *In melius*, if taken with *cogniti*, gives no intelligible meaning; and, if taken with *differunt*, would assert the opposite of what Tacitus is likely to have said about the civilization of the Irish people (cp. Strabo, 4. 5, 4; Mela, 3. 53), nor does it seem likely that Tacitus would write *in melius differre*. One remedy is to omit *in*, which might perhaps arise from a correction *un* (or *ū*) written over *rt*, or might be introduced by a copyist who took *melius* with *differt*. With the omission, we may perhaps take *melius . . . cogniti* to mean 'fairly well known'. It is impossible to interpret 'better than those of Britain', and it does not seem easy to supply *quam interiora insulae* (Brotier, Orelli), nor possible to understand 'better' than Tacitus can state from Agricola's information and the knowledge available in Roman Britain (H. Zimmer; cp. *Introd.*, p. xlix, n.). Another remedy is to suppose that something has dropped out after *in*, e. g. *in⟨teriora parum⟩*; perhaps a whole line of the original archetype has been lost (cp. notes on c. 16, 1; 22, 3).

per commercia. Cp. c. 28, 5. Prof. Haverfield noted that the Roman antiquities found in Ireland are very few and indicate little Roman trade with that island during the first two centuries (see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1913, pp. 1–12). They belong chiefly to the north-east coast; most are coins and date in general from the 4th century A.D., only a single coin of Nero being referable to the actual time of Agricola; they include no pottery. Such trade as there was seems to have been, not between Ireland and Gaul, but between north-east Ireland and Britain, and chiefly in the 4th century. The elaborate theories of the late H. Zimmer as to a brisk trade between south Ireland and Gaul in the 1st century must, in all probability, be given up. Cp. *Introd.*, p. xlix.

§ 3. expulsum seditione domestica. So exiled British princes had been received by Augustus (*Mon. Ancyr.* 5. 54; 6. 2), Gaius (Suet. *Cal.* 44, cp. *Introd.*, p. xlv), and Claudius (Dio, 60. 19, 1). This *seditio* may perhaps refer to the more or less legendary revolt of the Aithech Tuatha, servile and tributary tribes who rose against their overlords about this period and either killed them or forced them to flee to Alba (Britain). These tribes set up a king of their own, Cairbre Cindchait (Cat-head), but became so dissatisfied with him that they sent to Alba for the representative of the old royal stock. Cp. J. MacNeill, 'The Revolt of the Vassals', in *New Ireland Review*, xxvi (1906), pp. 96–106; and W. A. Craigie in *Rev. celtique*, xx (1899), pp. 335–9.

in occasionem, i.e. to make use of him, if he should invade the island.

ex eo. For similar references to Agricola's own testimony

cp. c. 4, 4: 44. 5. Some wrongly take *eo* here of the Irish prince. Agricola's opinion that about *8,000* men would suffice shows how little he knew of Ireland. It was no doubt based on the information derived from the *regulus*, who desired to be reinstated and would minimize the difficulties.

adversus, i.e. in the Roman relations towards: cp. c. 12, 2.

arma, sc. *essent*, often omitted when a co-ordinate subjunctive clause follows.

CHAPTER XXV

§ **1. Ceterum**: marking the return from a digression, as in c. 11, 1; *G.* 3. 3, &c.

sextum: A.D. 82 or 83.

amplexus: cp. c. 17, 2. Here sc. *animo*, 'embracing in his plans'.

quia, &c., explains *portus classe exploravit* (see below). For his route by Stirling, Dunblane, Ardoch, Strageath towards Perth and then north to Inchtuthil on the river Tay (7 miles S.E. of Dunkeld), see *Introd.*, pp. lxvii ff.

ultra: used as an adjective; cp. c. 10, 2 (and note): 24, 1, &c.

infesta hostilis exercitus itinera. The meaning appears to be 'threatening marches of the enemy's army', the whole clause being equivalent to *quia timebatur ne universae . . . gentes moverentur et infesta essent hostium exercitus itinera*: because Agricola feared that all the tribes would move and not merely oppose his advance directly but also try to turn his flank (§ 4) by way of the sea-coast, he reconnoitred the harbours with his fleet, which was used to support his advance. *Hostilis exercitus*, as in *H.* 3. 82 (*hostilis acies*, *H.* 3. 23), avoids a double genitive. *Infesta* is always used actively even of things by Tacitus, 'threatening', sometimes (though very rarely) with a causal ablative, as in *A.* 2. 23, 3. Cp. P. Ercole in *Riv. di fil.* 1918, p. 116. Editors always, apparently, take *itinera* as applying to the Romans, but Furneaux's argument that a Roman writer would hardly call such a gathering as that of the Caledonians an *exercitus*, is not borne out by Tacitus' usage (cp. e.g. *G.* 30, 2: 43, 6; *A.* 11. 9, 1; 12. 14, 2; and probably c. 32, 5 below). Those who retain *hostilis* explain it as 'a hostile, invading, army' (i.e. Roman, viewed from the Caledonian standpoint), which (1) makes the adjective weak and superfluous, (2) requires *infesta* to be taken passively ('beset with dangers'), and (3) gives a poor sense, for the marches of every invading army are naturally beset with dangers. The marginal reading of *E* (second hand) *hostili exercitu* ('endangered by'), accepted by Andresen, is open to objections (2) and (3); *praestat difficilior lectio.* The old emendation *hostibus* (which would be written *hostib.*), based on Suet. *Aug.* 8, is superfluous.

timebantur. The abbreviation of the final syllable has been lost in the inferior MSS.

adsumpta in partem virium, 'taken up to form part of his force' (cp. *adsumpto in partem rerum*, c. 13, 5). The *classis Britannica* is mentioned in A.D. 70 (*H.* 4. 79, 3), and doubtless existed in some form from the first invasion; but it would appear to have been previously used rather as a means of transport and supply (cp. c. 24, 1), and by Agricola first as an essential branch of the attack. It follows from c. 28 that Agricola had also ships on the west coast. Normally the British fleet had its main station at Boulogne (Gesoriacum, later Bononia) and subsidiary stations at Dover, Lymne, &c. It seems to have patrolled only the narrow sea dividing Kent and the Thames from Gaul and the Rhine. Cp. *CIL.* vii. 1226; *Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1276; *Journ. Rom. Stud.* ii, p. 202 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 2643 f.

impelleretur, 'was pushed forward', a new phrase, perhaps suggested by mention of ships. The manuscript text *impellitur* was retained by Wex, who made *cum . . . impellitur* a protasis (to which *ac . . . attollerent, ac . . . compararentur* is appended), *Britannos . . . clauderetur* a parenthesis, and *ad manus*, &c., the apodosis. This would give a most involved construction, and the change of both mood and tense, in a clause so closely coupled as *ac . . . attollerent*, seems impossible, though somewhat arbitrary changes of mood alone are certainly found.

pedes equesque: coupled closely as the land force. *Isdem castris* is local abl.

mixti copiis et laetitia, 'sharing their rations and exultation'. The participle appears to be best taken not quite as in c. 4, 3, but rather as in *H.* 1. 9, 5, *nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur*; the ablatives expressing that in respect of which they were *mixti inter se*. For *copiis*, cp. c. 22, 2, and for the coupling of different ideas, *nox et satietas* (c. 37, 6), quoted by Andresen.

attollerent = *extollerent*, as in several places in *Hist.*

profunda, 'the ravines', where danger would lurk. The substantival use of neuter plural adjectives, often (as here) with a partitive genitive following, is very common in Tacitus.

hinc . . . hinc: for *hinc . . . illinc*, in Virg. (*Aen.* 1. 500; 9. 440) and later writers.

victus also goes with *terra et hostis*.

iactantia (cp. c. 39, 1, &c.): a word not apparently found earlier than Quint. and the younger Pliny. The classical *iactatio* is used by Tacitus only in his minor works (c. 5, 2; 42, 4; *G.* 6, 2).

§ 2. Britannos quoque . . . obstupefaciebat, i.e. 'the sight of the fleet affected them also, but with stupefaction (not with joy)'. Andresen compares the similar conciseness in *gignit et Oceanus margarita*, c. 12, 6.

tamquam: expressing their thought, 'as though, by the opening up of the recesses (c. 31, 4, &c.) of their sea, their last refuge was closed against them'. The ingenious verbal contrast of *aperto* and *clauderetur* is an intentional oxymoron.

§ **3. ad manus et arma** (as in c. 33, 5): virtual synonyms, the latter word defining the former. In other passages of the *Hist.* and *Ann.* we find *ferrum, tela, ictus* thus joined with *manus*. We should expect the sentence to be introduced by *igitur*, as it probably would have been at a time when the style of Tacitus was more formed.

Caledoniam incolentes populi. The Caledonii, as a distinct tribe, appear first in Ptol. 2. 3, 8.

paratu: used for *apparatus* here alone in the minor writings, several times in *Hist.*, and always (except 2. 69, 3) in *Ann.*

uti mos, &c., applying only to *maiore fama*: report usually exaggerates. A similar thought is expressed in *omne ignotum pro magnifico* (c. 30, 4), the unknown is always thought grand (finer than it is).

oppugnare ultro castellum adorti. The phrase is from Livy (*oppugnare castella adorti*, 35. 51, 8, &c.). *Ultro* implies an offensive movement (cp. c. 16, 4: 42, 1 &c.). *Castellum* (*E*) is probably right, and *castella* a conjecture. Andresen rightly supposed that the attack took place to the north of the Forth-Clyde line. The fort attacked was one of those planted along the line of penetration into central Scotland: those built along the line of the isthmus were apparently evacuated as soon as the advance began. See *Introd.*, pp. lxi, lxxii f.

metum, &c., 'had created the greater panic, as taking the offensive'.

quam = *quam ut*, used by Sallust and oftener by Livy.

cognoscit. The omission of the subject (not expressed till the next sentence) is thought harsh, but *Agricolam* is naturally supplied as the object of the preceding *admonebant*.

pluribus = *compluribus*, as in c. 20, 2, and often. The modal ablative is much used in describing military formations.

§ **4. ne . . . circumiretur.** Cp. on *hostilis exercitus*, § 1. From the threefold division of his army, and from the isolation of his weakest legion, the Ninth, it has been inferred that Agricola had only three legions, each of which formed the nucleus of a division. It is conceivable that a legion had to be left behind somewhere in garrison; but we cannot assume that the three divisions were all of equal strength, any more than in the first invasion of A.D. 43 (see *Introd.*, p. xlvii). The Second legion (*Adiutrix*) was not recalled till A.D. 85–6 at earliest (*ibid.*, p. lxxv).

et ipse, 'himself also': cp. *G.* 37, 4; *H.* 3. 82, 3, where it comes, as here, in the middle of an abl. abs. Draeger, § 224.

CHAPTER XXVI

§ **1. repente** is always used by Tacitus instead of the popular *subito*.

nonam. This legion, part of the original invading army, had been almost cut to pieces in A.D. 61 (*A.* 14. 32, 6), after which it had been reinforced (14. 38, 1). The explanation of its present

weakness is not certain. There is evidence that it sent a large detachment to Germany which took part in Domitian's Chattan war of A. D. 83 (Urlichs, *Schlacht am Berge Graupius*, p. 25). An inscription to L. Roscius Aelianus (consul A. D. 100), found at Tibur and set up about A. D. 118 (Dessau, no. 1025; *CIL*. xiv. 3612), records him as *trib. mil. leg. ix Hispan(ae), vexillarior(um) eiusdem in expeditione Germanica, donato ab imp. Aug. militarib(us) donis*. The omission of the emperor's name shows that Domitian is meant, and the probable age of Aelianus agrees well with the supposition that he was a military tribune at this date. If this be the true explanation of the legion's weakness, it would suggest that Agricola's sixth campaign took place in A. D. 83, not 82. But perhaps the legion's weakness was due to some other cause (cp. Appendix I, p. 173).

inter, 'in the midst of', 'during': cp. *inter turbas et discordias*, *H*. 4. 1, 5.

§ **2**. **edoctus**: so with accus. several times in Tacitus, after Sall. *Cat*. 45, 1; *Jug*. 112, 2.

vestigiis insecutus, 'following close on the track'; taken from Livy, who so uses this local abl. in describing military movements (6. 32, 10, &c.).

adsultare appears first in the elder Pliny and is chiefly Tacitean.

signa: of his legionary force.

§ **3**. **nonanis**: a pleasing improvement on *Romanis* of the inferior MSS., which owed its origin to an emendation made in *E* by a late hand.

securi pro salute, 'without fear as to deliverance'. So *pro me securior* (*H*. 4. 58, 1), *pro . . . Catone securum* (Sen. *Const. Sap*. 2, 1), and similar uses in Livy and Ovid, analogous to *metuere*, *anxius* (*sollicitus*) *esse pro aliquo*. Draeger, § 90.

de gloria, i.e. disputing the honours of victory with the relieving force (*utroque exercitu certante*, &c.). Here and in c. 5, 3 we find a trace of Sallust's *cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certari* (*Jug*. 114, 2).

ultro quin etiam. *Ultro* as in c. 25, 3. *Quin etiam* is in anastrophe here alone in this treatise, but five times in *Ger*., once each in *Hist*. and *Ann*., after Virgil. Cp. *quippe*, c. 3, 1.

§ **4**. **quod nisi**: the negative of *quod si*, c. 16, 2.

debellatum . . . foret. This is rhetorical. In reality a great disaster was narrowly escaped, the courage of the Britons was raised rather than broken (cp. c. 29, 3), and the Roman advance suspended till next year.

CHAPTER XXVII

§ **1**. **conscientia ac fama**, 'the consciousness and report', the former applying to those who had taken part in the battle, the latter to the rest of the army. The same terms contrast personal feeling and report of others in *A*. 6. 26, 2.

penetrandam. Cp. *longius penetrata Germania* (*A.* 4. 44, 3). This transitive use is first found in prose in Vell. 2. 40, 1. Being *trans Bodotriam*, c. 25, 1, they were already within Caledonia.

Britanniae terminum, 'the farthest bounds of Br.': cp. note on c. 23, 1.

fremebant. 'were clamorously demanding'. For collectives taking a plural verb in Tacitus, whether nouns or pronouns (*quisque* and *uterque*), see Draeger, § 29.

§ 2. illi: the *ignavi specie prudentium* of c. 25, 3. *Magniloquus* occurs first in Ovid, here alone in Tacitus, and apparently in no earlier prose.

prospera, &c. The same sentiment is found in *A.* 3. 53, 4 (cp. *H.* 4. 52, 2). It may have been suggested by Sallust's *in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, advorsae res etiam bonos detrectant* (*Jug.* 53, 8).

§ 3. non virtute se victos. The words *se victos*, omitted by the inferior MSS., were rightly added by Brotier (improving on Lipsius), but placed after *ducis*. Later editors adopted the order suggested to Walch by *H.* 2. 44, 5, *non virtute se, sed proditione victum* (cp. 2, 76, 8 *ne Othonem quidem ducis arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum*).

occasione et arte ducis, 'through a chance skilfully turned to account by the general', i.e. the discovery of their design by Agricola and his prompt action on it.

quo minus: cp. c. 20, 2.

conspirationem . . . sancirent, 'ratify the confederacy'.

atque ita, &c. Cp. *atque ita infensis utrimque animis discessum* (*A.* 13. 56, 3), where a colloquy had taken place. Here the words, in dramatic fashion, prepare the reader for the *dénouement* (c. 29 ff.), before which comes the interlude of c. 28.

CHAPTER XXVIII

§ 1. Eadem aestate. This episode, though it would naturally have found a place in any general history of the campaigns, lies outside the biographical subject. It belongs to the historical form of narrative (see *Introd.*, Sect. III). But it has a dramatic effect (cp. preceding note). It also contributes to the glorification of the hero: it shows that Agricola had troops who were a source not of strength but of weakness, and the possible contagion of whose example had to be guarded against (cp. c. 32, 4). The story is related briefly from some other source by Dio (66. 20, 2) as suggesting Agricola's circumnavigation of the island: see note on § 4.

Usiporum: the Usipi of Mart. 6. 60, 3: Usipetes (with Celtic termination) of *A.* 1. 51, 4 and Caes. *B. G.* 4. 1, 1. In A.D. 14 they dwelt on the Rhine between the rivers Lippe and Yssel. Later, they appear farther south in Nassau. In A.D. 69 they are mentioned as being associated with the Chatti and Mattiaci (*H.* 4. 37, 3) in attacking Mainz, and were apparently settled in the region of

the river Lahn (Nassau) north of the Taunus mountains. There they still dwelt in A.D. 98 next to the Chatti in Hessen (*G.* 32, 1). Mommsen supposed that they were annexed by Domitian early in his campaign of A.D. 83, and that the recruits here mentioned were at once enrolled in the auxiliary forces and immediately sent off to Britain, whence they made their escape very soon after their arrival (*Prov.* i. 150, note). This would fix A.D. 78 as Agricola's first year in Britain. But evidently only part of the tribe was annexed (cp. *G.* 32), and it may have been annexed earlier. See Appendix I. They were obviously still untrained recruits, as they had only a centurion and other *rectores*, and were thus unfit for service in the main army. As to their probable station, see below on § 4.

Germanias, the two military districts on the Rhine, see note on c. 15, 4. The geographical vagueness is characteristic of Tacitus.

§ **2. militibus**, sc. *legionariis*. Dio speaks of a tribune (χιλίαρχος) and centurions. Such drill instructors of recruits were usually centurions and other veterans of distinction (cp. Plin. *Pan.* 13). In inscriptions belonging to a rather later period, those of the lower grade are called *cohortis doctores*, those of the higher *campidoctores*.

habebantur, 'were attached': cp. *A.* 1. 73, 2, where more or less kindred uses of the verb from Tacitus and Sallust are collected by Nipperdey.

liburnicas. These are the smaller war-ships, 'biremes' carrying a Levantine (triangular) sail.

† **remigante**. The text of this passage is badly corrupted. *Remigante*, 'rowing', makes no sense. At the end of their voyage they seem to have had no pilot (*per inscitiam regendi*, § 4), and *ut miraculum* and the account in Dio suggest that they had none at the start. In that case, as two were put to death, the third must have disappeared at the outset either by escaping or by committing suicide, or perhaps he also was put to death (*interfectis* applying to *uno* as well as to *duobus*). *Per inscitiam regendi* has been explained as meaning ignorance of the navigation of the coast of Holland, but that would make the expression a very loose one; and the supposition that the pilot disappeared during the voyage is open to the objection that Tacitus could hardly have failed to mention such a fact. This would rule out some emendations, including Paton's ingenious *uno* ⟨*regente*⟩ *remigante*⟨*s*⟩, and none of the others gives a reading that is both suitable in sense and palaeographically probable. Any present participle would be aoristic, as in c. 4. 3, &c.

suspectis duobus: presumably of some intended treachery, such as steering into a Roman port.

ut miraculum, not only because people could not account for their appearance, but because of their erratic course.

praevehebantur = *praetervehebantur*; so in *H.* 5. 16, 6, &c. Cp. *praelegere*, c. 38, 5.

§ **3. mox ad aquam,** &c. In this corrupt passage the correction *utilia* (used of 'supplies' in Sall. *Jug.* 86, 1, &c.) seems clear. For the rest, the chief seat of corruption seems to be *raptisse cum*, where the copyist's eye apparently skipped some letters, producing an impossible reading, out of which *raptis secum* was then evolved. Ritter's ingenious retention of these words with a supplement based on *H.* 3. 80, 1, *raptis secum* ⟨*quae obvia, egressi, et cum*⟩, gives an impossible position to *egressi*. Halm (adopting *egressi et* from Ritter and *raptum* from Eussner, and changing *aquam* to *aquandum*) produced *ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum*, which gives excellent sense, though the corruption is not readily intelligible, and the jingle *egressi* . . . *congressi* is more unpleasing than other Tacitean jingles, such as *promissa* . . . *inmisso* (*A.* 3. 16) or *missis* . . . *admissae* (*H.* 4. 60), where the words are less closely connected. More attractive, perhaps, is Eussner's view that *isse* is the debris of a plup. rf. subj. (*raptum*) *issent* (cp. *A.* 4. 1. 2, *H.* 2. 6, &c.), which would involve the further loss of a conjunction like *cum* or *ubi* (as W. Heraeus thinks, *mox ubi* being a favourite combination of Tacitus): cp. the loss of *ut* or *ubi* in c. 36, 3. For the subjunctive, cp. c. 9, 3. *Issent*, however, is not very suitable here, and we may hazard *ubi appulissent*, the loss being due to the similarity of the letters to *utilia raptū*. *Ad aquam* is used for *ad aquandum* by Caesar, *B. C.* 1. 81; *utilia raptum* suitably varies the expression (for water is free to all). The separation of *ubi* from *mox* (with which it is most frequently conjoined) would give appropriate emphasis to *ad aquam* &c.; cp. *A.* 2. 69, 3.

defensantium: a poetical word, used also by Sallust.

eo ad extremum inopiae, 'at last came to such need'. *Eo* with genit. is often used by Tacitus (cp. c. 42, 5), also by Sallust and Livy.

vescerentur. The accus. with this verb (used here alone in Tacitus) seems an archaism, like that with *fungi* and *potiri*, but is found in Sallust, the elder Pliny, &c.

§ **4. circumvecti Britanniam.** These words alone give any indication of the locality from which the Usipi started, and point to some place on the west coast. It has been thought that they had been added to the troops stationed on the coast facing Ireland (c. 24, 1), and their station may thus have been at Uxellodunum (beside Maryport) on the Cumberland coast, known from inscriptions, &c., as a Roman fort (*CIL.* vii, p. 84). It is not clear whether they sailed south round Land's End, or north round Cape Wrath. The latter seems to be indicated by the facts (1) that some of the survivors reached the west bank of the Rhine some time after the end of their adventurous voyage (§ 5), and (2) that the voyage was evidently a long one (§ 3). Xiphilinus, too, in his epitome of Dio (66, 20), states that their voyage suggested Agricola's circumnavigation (c. 38, 4). His account, however, appears to be drawn from a less circumstantial and probably less well informed source.

It runs: *ἐς πλοῖα κατέφυγον καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν αὐτῆς (τῆς Βρεττανίας), ὥς που τό τε κῦμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε, καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα προσσχόντες. κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλους ὁ Ἀγρικόλας πειράσοντας τὸν περίπλουν πέμψας ἔμαθε καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ὅτι νῆσός ἐστιν.* This means that they sailed round the western coast and put in unawares at one of the Roman forts on the other side, i. e. they sailed round the north and were stopped on the east coast. Cp. Thuc. 8. 33 *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα . . . καθωρμίσαντο.* (Editors of Tacitus appear usually to take *ἐκ* as giving the starting point and thus reverse the direction; but, so taken, the sentence would be expressed in an absurd manner.) Dio thus seems to have known nothing of their reaching the coast of Holland.

amissis . . . navibus: on the German coast.

habiti, 'taken for', 'treated as'.

primum . . . mox, i. e. some by the former, the remnant by the latter.

Suebis. In *G.* 38, 1 this is a generic name (taken to mean 'wanderers') for a very large number of German tribes, living mostly east of the Elbe; and the word may be vaguely used. Gantrelle suggested that those here meant were settled on the coast of Holland and answer to those spoken of in Suet. *Aug.* 21, *Suebos et Sigambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, atque in proximis Rheno agris conlocavit* (*Contributions à la critique de Tac.*, p. 52). They would probably have been settled between the mouths of the Scheldt and Rhine. If the reference is to them, the Usipi would probably have sailed round the south of England, not the north of Scotland. But it may be doubted if these Suebi maintained their tribal individuality, and Tacitus appears to distinguish the Suebic settlement from *nostra ripa*, and thus to place it east of the Rhine. It may be that only the prisoners of the Frisii were sold on the Roman side of the river, but presumably the others supposed to be captured on that side would already have told the tale. It seems more probable that the Suebi in question were those of the Schleswig coast.

Frisiis. The Frisii occupied the northern part of Holland from the Yssel to the lower Ems; their name still survives in that of Friesland. On their history, see *G.* 34, 1.

§ **5. per commercia**: cp. c. 39, 2.

venumdatos. Tacitus has also *veno dare.* The verb occurs in Sallust and Livy but not in Cicero.

nostram: the west or Gallic bank of the Rhine.

indicium . . . inlustravit, 'their story of this great adventure gained them fame'. The indic. after *sunt qui*, common in poetry but very rare in prose, is used here because only a definite few are meant (= *nonnullos*).

CHAPTER XXIX

§ 1. **Initio aestatis.** Clearly this is not the summer of c. 28, 1, but the following one (cp. c. 34, 1). As it is difficult to suppose *sequentis* to be supplied from the sense, Brotier suggested that *vii* (*septimae*) has been lost after the last syllable (*vit*) of the preceding chapter. But a new year is sufficiently indicated by *initio* and *eadem aestate* of c. 28, 1 (referring to c. 25, 1).

ictus . . . amisit. Agricola was apparently accompanied by his wife in Britain, as in Asia (c. 6, 3). The participle can be taken aoristically with *amisit*, but it is peculiar that the verb explains the participle, instead of, as usual, being explained by it (*filio amisso ictus est*). Hence some editors have placed a colon after *ictus*, but they quote no parallel for the explanatory asyndeton.

fortium, 'strong-minded', used sarcastically.

ambitiose, 'ostentatiously', making a display of impassiveness (ἀπαθεία) to gain admiration (cp. *ambitiosa morte*, c. 42, 5). Tacitus is not slow to censure the vanity of Stoics, as elsewhere their indolence (*H*. 4. 5, 2), but in his later writings their desire of fame is reproved more gently as an infirmity of noble minds (*H*. 4. 6, 1, cp. above c. 9, 5; *A*. 14. 49, 5; 16. 26, 6). Cp. *Introd*., p. xxx.

per: taken nearly as in c. 4, 2, the sense of a modal (as well as instrumental or causal) abl. being often given by the accus. with this preposition. Cp. c. 37, 4; 38, 1; 40, 4; 44, 5.

inter remedia. Tacitus so describes the practice (*A*. 4. 13, 1) and sentiment (*A*. 4. 8, 4) of Tiberius.

§ 2. **incertum**, 'vague', expressing the uncertainty of defenders as to the quarter most threatened.

expedito: without heavy baggage.

ex Britannis fortissimos. The additional words *longa pace* show that they were enlisted not from newly conquered districts but from southern Britain. The conscription is also alluded to in c. 13, 1; 15, 3; 31, 1; 32, 1 and 4. The conscripts employed in Britain itself were not formed into separate units: see *Introd*., p. lxxvii.

exploratos, 'tested'. By recognizing the *fortitudo* of the Britons, Tacitus admits that they had not suffered the enervation which he declares in c. 11, 5 to be the result of *longa pax*.

Graupium: perhaps, as Holder thinks, from some Celtic root expressive of mountain form, akin to γρυπός. Puteolanus' reading, a mere error, has been perpetuated by the name 'Grampians', first given by geographers of the sixteenth century (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, p. 12). It does not, therefore, help us in identifying the locality. For the limits within which this is to be sought, see *Introd*., p. lxx.

§ 3. **pugnae prioris**: the battle described in c. 26.

expectantes. Peter notes that the sense of 'seeing before them', suits both substantives sufficiently to make it unnecessary to suppose a zeugma.

tandemque docti: cp. c. 12, 2.

legationibus et foederibus: probably a hendiadys, treaties made by envoys.

§ 4. **triginta milia.** Ancient imagination usually overrated unduly the numbers of a barbarian enemy. But there is no need to suppose an error here (though errors are always possible in figures), especially as the context speaks of subsequent additions, and as the victorious auxiliaries numbered only about 13,000 to 14,000 (c. 35, 2; 37, 1; *Introd.*, p. lxxvii). See note on c. 37, 6.

adhuc, 'still further', cp. c. 33, 1; *G.* 10, 3, &c.

cruda ac viridis, 'fresh and green' (not sapless and withered), taken from Virg. *Aen.* 6. 304, which itself expresses the Homeric ὠμογέρων (*Il.* 23. 791).

decora, 'military decorations'.

praestans nomine C., 'one excelling . . ., called C.' For such a concise use, answering to Greek uses of τις, cp. *A.* 2. 74, 2; 13. 15, 4: 55, 2; *H.* 4. 82, 2, in all of which *nomine* is thus used to introduce foreign names.

Calgacus: otherwise wholly unknown. The middle vowel is held to be long, and the name appears to be connected with a Celtic word for a sword (Irish 'calgach', &c., see Holder), or it might mean 'crafty' (Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 283).

in hunc modum locutus fertur. The speech is obviously a composition of Tacitus.

CHAPTER XXX

§ 1. **Quotiens**, &c. The opening words perhaps contain a reminiscence of Sall. *Cat.* 58, 18.

causas belli. In c. 15, 5 Britons make the motives to be *sibi patriam coniuges parentes*, *illis* (the Romans) *avaritiam et luxuriam*, and the thought is the same here: their determination to escape oppression will secure them victory.

necessitatem, 'peril', or crisis: cp. *necessitatis monet*, *A.* 1. 67, 1. The *necessitas* is dwelt on first; the *causae belli* are taken up in §§ 6–7 and c. 31.

animus est, 'I have confidence', here constructed with accus. and inf. on the analogy of *spes est*, or *confido*.

hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum, forming one idea in thought, 'your union as this day witnessed'.

initium libertatis. Similar language is put into the mouth of Caratācus in *A.* 12. 34, 2 *illam aciem . . . aut recuperandae libertatis aut servitutis aeternae initium fore.* Here the alternative is deferred till later in the speech.

universi coistis. The Toledo MS. reads *colitis*, which Leuze explained as 'you dwell all together', as one people, quoting *G.* 16, 1, *colunt discreti*, as giving the opposite idea, 'they live scattered'. But there the phrase is opposed to *iunctas sedes*, 'contiguous houses'; and although *universi*, 'all in a body' as opposed to *dispersi*, is good Latin, in the present context *universi colitis* is

meaningless. It cannot mean 'you are a united people'. In the best MS. (*E*) the third and fourth letters are covered with a thick smudge, but a photograph kindly sent by Sig[r] Annibaldi shows that the fourth letter is undoubtedly *s* (as Annibaldi agrees), and therefore the restoration *coistis* is unquestionable. It explains *consensum vestrum* and gives the exact meaning required. It is a tribute to Andresen's acuteness that he declined to accept *colitis* and doubtfully suggested *coistis* (*Jahresb. d. phil. Vereins zu Berlin*, 33 (1907), p. 262), though in his text (1914) he wrongly reverted to the reading of the inferior MSS., which omit the verb and the *et* following.

nullae ultra terrae, sc. *sunt*. The idea is repeated in *terrarum extremos* and *sed nulla iam ultra gens* (§ 4).

securum, 'free from danger': cp. *Dial.* 3, 2; *H.* 1. 1, 5. So used of things, for *tutus*, in Livy (39. 1, 6) and afterwards, but rarely.

§ **3. pugnae . . . habebant.** By a bold personification the battle is put for the combatants: and the thing hoped for (*subsidium*) is coupled with the hope.

eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti. By a flight of rhetoric the speaker is made to say that because they were the noblest race in Britain, Fortune had located them in the innermost sanctuary of the island, the better to preserve them undefiled. They may have claimed superiority as an indigenous people, and may well have been believed, and have believed themselves, to be such (cp. Caes. *B. G.* 5. 12, 1), though Tacitus thought them German immigrants (c. 11, 2). *Situs* is used of persons (cp. *A.* 12. 10, 2) after Sallust.

servientium: substantival (cp. c. 4, 3), 'of slaves', i.e. of the Gauls, who were within sight of south Britain (c. 10, 2).

oculos quoque a contactu. A similar bold figure is found in *A.* 3. 12, 7 *corpus contrectandum vulgi oculis.* The prep. with abl. seems adapted to the personification.

§ **4. terrarum ac libertatis extremos**, 'the last strip of land and last home of liberty'. *Nos* is emphatic, opposed to *priores pugnae*.

recessus ipse et sinus famae, &c. This difficult passage has been the subject of vast discussion. The first clause amounts to little or nothing more than *longinquitas ac secretum tutum* (c. 31, 4): their remoteness and obscurity have been their security hitherto. *Ipse* emphasizes *recessus* as the principal cause of their safety, and *recessus* paves the way for the bold figurative expression *sinus famae*, 'our sequestered nook in the world of fame'. *Fama* is imagined as having—like *libertas* here and *imperium* in *G.* 29, 4—a definite domain marked off by boundaries and including within it outlying *sinus* (c. 23, 2, note), where it has small sway, as Andresen rightly explains, quoting *Dial.* c. 12, *angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis . . . includi.* Others have taken the metaphor to be from the fold (*sinus*) of the toga, interpreting 'the

protecting bosom of fame' which warded off attack (a very extravagant figure, giving also a false meaning, since they were obscure), or 'the veiling cloak of rumour' which prevented them from being known, because only vague rumours of them could reach the outer world (which would give a very abrupt and harsh metaphor). Peerlkamp separated *famae* from *sinus* and took it with *defendit* (cp. Virg. *Ecl.* 7. 47 *solstitium pecori defendite*), 'prevented us from being well known'; but this would seem to require *famam nobis*, and the interpretation is otherwise very improbable. The emendation *sinus fama*, 'the report of our recess', i.e. of the vast stretch of land which we inhabit, though recently adopted by W. Heraeus, gives a difficult sense and depends on the transposition of *omne ignotum*, &c.

terminus Britanniae: the farthest bounds, i.e. the remotest tract forming the limit, of the island. The remoteness is constantly harped upon by both sides, cc. 27, 1; 30, 4; 33, 3 and 6 (*in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine*).

atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est; sed. These words have been transposed by most editors to follow *defendit*, but, as it would seem, wrongly. The sequence of thought appears to be: 'hitherto our isolation and obscurity have defended us: now our land lies open to the foe, and the unknown is always thought grand (its being unknown makes it all the more attractive, the lure of the unknown is irresistible to the insatiable Romans, *raptores orbis*, &c.), but for *us*—I repeat—battle is the only course: we have no refuge (as others had, *iam*), the sea and the Roman fleet are behind us, and in submission there is no hope of mercy.' *Sed* is resumptive (a common use), *nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi*, &c., repeats § 1 *et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem*, &c.; *iam* is opposed to *priores pugnae* (§ 3). For *pro magnifico*, cp. *A.* 6. 8, 10, (to be known to Sejanus' freedmen) *pro magnifico accipiebatur* and *G.* 34, 2. There is no inconsistency between the thought here expressed and c. 32, 3 *trepidos . . . ignota omnia circumspectantis.*

With the transposition, the thought would be: 'our seclusion has defended us and the fact that the unknown is always magnified. Now we must unfortunately emerge from the mystery that has surrounded us and magnified our prestige: our land lies open, [and] we have no refuge'. Editors compare c. 25, 3; *H.* 2. 83, 1 (about rumour exaggerating strength) and *maior ignotarum rerum est terror* (Liv. 28. 44, 3). But (1) transposition is far oftener wrong than right; (2) *magnificus* is not *maior* nor 'magnified'; (3) *sed nunc* is not Tacitean (Tacitus uses *nunc* asyndetically or *at nunc*, especially when the antithetical clause is long); (4) a conjunction is needed to connect the two entirely different thoughts *terminus patet* and *nulla iam ultra gens*, &c. (as in § 1 *et nullae*); (5) the statement that vague rumour had hitherto made their fame so great as to deter the Romans from attack would be too patently absurd even for Calgacus.

infestiores, i.e. *quam haec*.

effugias: apodosis, with *per . . . modestiam* as protasis. *Effugeris* (inferior MSS.) would be equally good, but is mere conjecture.

§ **5**. **raptores orbis**. So Mithridates is made to call them *latrones gentium* (Sall. *Epist. Mithr.* 22), and Telesinus *raptores Italicae libertatis lupos* (Vell. 2. 27, 2, the earliest prose use of *raptor*).

terrae, mare scrutantur: cp. *G.* 45, 4. *Terram et mare* of the inferior MSS. is due to a stupid emendation of the second hand of *E* (substituting the common phrase 'land and sea'). The phrase is rhetorical: the Romans really used the sea only to support their occupation of the land.

ambitiosi, 'seeking homage': cp. *sexum . . . ambitiosum, potestatis avidum*, *A.* 3. 33, 3.

satiaverit: best taken as perf. subj. depending on the causal *quos*.

omnium: best taken with *soli*: cp. *G.* 45, 4.

opes atque inopiam, 'wealth and want', i.e. every acquisition, great and small. Cp. Sall. *Cat.* 11, 3 *avaritia . . . neque copia neque inopia minuitur* and Dio, 60. 33, 3[e] (Boissevain).

§ **6**. **auferre trucidare rapere**: used as substantives, 'plunder, murder, rapine': the first relates to things, the second to men, the third to both.

falsis nominibus: cp. *H.* 1. 37, 7.

pacem: the *pax gentium* of *H.* 1. 84, 9, *pax Romana* of Seneca (*de Prov.* 4, 14) and Pliny (*N. H.* 27. 1, 3). For the thought, cp. *servitutem falso pacem vocarent* (*H.* 4, 17), and *A.* 12. 33, 2.

CHAPTER XXXI

§ **1**. **voluit**: viewing nature as a lawgiver.

alibi servituri: used bitterly of the conscription. Cohorts of Britanni belonging to the German army in A.D. 69 are mentioned in *H.* 1. 70, 3. Others are found under Titus and Domitian in Pannonia (Dessau, 1997, &c.), and elsewhere. Several enrolled during Agricola's governorship are found serving in various provinces of Europe and in Mauretania. On their employment in Britain itself, see c. 29, 2, note, and *Introd.*, p. lxxvii.

coniuges, &c. Cp. *A.* 12. 34, 3 and 14. 31, 3.

nomine amicorum, &c., i.e. by persons professing to be friends. Clearness of construction is sacrificed to conciseness.

§ **2**. **ager atque annus**, 'the land and its yearly produce'. For the use of *annus* (for *annona*) cp. *exspectare annum*, *G.* 14, 5: it occurs also in Lucan, Statius, &c. *Conteruntur* easily lost its terminal stroke (or small *r* written by the top of the *t*), and such a sense as that of *consumitur* can be supplied from it. On the requisitions of corn, cp. c. 19, 4, and note.

emuniendis (here alone in Tacitus), 'making roads through'. The usual sense of the word is to fortify, and perhaps the notion is

here that of making elevated causeways; or the words are a concise expression for *viam per silvas munire*: Livy has *ad rupem muniendam*, 21. 37, 2. The leading grievances of subjects are all brought together, conscription, tribute, corn requisition, forced labour.

nata servituti: in indignant contrast to the free-born Britons.

semel veneunt, &c., 'are sold once for all and, what is more, are fed by their masters; whereas Britain daily pays for her own slavery (by tribute) and daily feeds it (by corn supply), i. e. feeds its enslavers'. Cp. Dio, 62. 3, 3. The logic is sacrificed to rhetorical point.

§ **3. recentissimus quisque**, 'the last newcomer'. Calgacus is made here to speak as if he knew a Roman household.

novi nos et viles in excidium. A further point is introduced: not only are we, like all new slaves, a derision, but so worthless and contemptible in our masters' eyes that they wish only to extirpate us.

neque . . . arva. Caledonia had only mountain wastes and pastures. In Caesar's time this was believed to be the general condition of the remoter parts (*interiores plerique frumenta non serunt*, *B. G.* 5. 14, 2).

metalla. On the working of mines under the Romans, see Appendix II. The labour was supplied by slaves, hired freemen, soldiers, and condemned criminals.

exercendis. On the dat. of purpose, cp. c. 23, 1. The verb is used with *agri* and *metalla* and of other kinds of trade or industry. To take it with *portus* in the sense of constructing or fitting up harbours, as is usually done, would involve a very harsh zeugma, and is unnecessary. What is meant is that the labour of working fields, mines, and harbours fell to the Britons, while the profits went to the Romans.

§ **4. porro**: here apparently giving another reason why they should expect annihilation. Cp. c. 15, 6, and note.

secretum, 'our seclusion': cp. c. 25, 2, and for the thought, c. 30, 4. *Tutius*, while they are free; *suspectius*, if they are conquered (as Andresen explains).

sublata spe veniae repeats c. 30, 4.

sumite animum, 'take courage', as in Liv. 6. 23, 3. In *H.* 1. 27, 5; *A.* 14. 44, 1 it means *consilium capere*.

§ **5. Brigantes.** These are not mentioned elsewhere as taking any part in the rising of Boudicca, and may be here mentioned by error. But they were hostile to Rome at nearly that date (*A.* 12. 40, 3), and other tribes than the Iceni and Trinovantes are said to have joined (14. 31, 4), and the rising is called *rebellio totius Britanniae* in c. 18, 4. On the other hand they could hardly be said *exuere iugum*. Perhaps they are named here (by rhetorical inaccuracy) as being the most powerful of the tribes nearest the Caledonians.

coloniam, Camulodunum: cp. c. 16, 1.

castra. Presumably that of the Ninth legion is meant, but the narrative in *A*. 14. 32, 6 says that the remnant were saved by flying to it. No doubt the speaker is here made to exaggerate.

nisi felicitas . . . vertisset, 'had not success ended in carelessness': so *victoria in luxuriam vertit*, Liv. 3. 64, 1. It seems to be meant that only gross negligence prevented them from annihilating the army of Paulinus; and this, though not stated in the narrative in the *Annals*, is certainly borne out by it.

potuere: used as an ordinary indicative ('were able') with *exurere* and *expugnare*, but with *exuere* it has subjunctive force ('would have been able'). In the apodosis of unreal conditional sentences, the indic. of *possum* and other modal verbs is regular, but the perfect is rare: Draeger, § 194, 3.

non in paenitentiam bellaturi. The MSS. text is undoubtedly corrupt, and no entirely convincing restoration has been suggested, but *bellaturi* may be accepted, with the interpretation 'who are going to fight for freedom, not to rue our resolve (and give up the struggle, like the Brigantes, but to conquer or die)'. *Bellare* = *pugnare*, as in c. 35, 2. The expression does not, perhaps, exceed the boldness of Tacitus' experiments in phrases in the *Agricola*. *Bellare in* would usually mean 'to make war against', but Livy says *in libertatem pugnare* (24. 2, 4), and *in*, 'with a view to', is common in Tacitus (c. 8, 3, &c.): cp. *in unius . . . decus bellare*, *H*. 1. 89. An alternative suggestion *arma laturi* (cp. *A*. 4. 48, 5, *ferre arma ad suum servitium*) is palaeographically easy but seems less suitable: they were already *arma ferentes*. Cp. Wolfflin, *Philol*. 26, p. 99.

Andresen's former suggestion *libertatem, non paen. allaturi* ('will bring to the contest') would seem to require some further addition to make the sense clear. Wolfflin's change of *in paen*. to *in patientiam* (with *bellaturi*), which would mean 'submissiveness' (c. 2, 3; 15, 1; 16, 2), appears to yield an absurd meaning.

seposuerit, 'has kept in reserve': cp. *in usum proeliorum sepositi* (*G*. 29, 2).

CHAPTER XXXII

§ **1. An**, &c., i.e. you should take courage, unless you think, &c. The subject of hope of success, begun in c. 31, 4, is carried on throughout this chapter.

dissensionibus ac discordiis are synonyms. On the fact, cp. c. 12, 2.

nisi si here puts ironically a supposition dismissed as impossible, as in Cic. *Cat*. 2. 4, 6.

pudet dictu is here alone used for *pudendum dictu* (*H*. 2. 61, 1, &c.) or *pudet dicere*. On the Britons in this Roman army, see c. 29, 2; *Introd*., p. lxxvii.

commodent, 'lend', an emendation supported by *nomen* . . .

commodavisse (*A.* 15. 53, 5), *vires . . . commodando* (Liv. 34. 12, 5), &c. Cp. c. 19, 3, note.

adfectu, 'attachment': cp. *militia sine adfectu* (*H.* 4. 31, 2), a silver-age use. A similar state of feeling among auxiliaries is referred to in *H.* 4. 76, 6.

§ **2. metus ac terror** might mean 'to feel fear and to inspire it', cp. *terror* in the sense of 'means of intimidation' in *H.* 2. 13; 5. 23, &c. But here the two words are probably synonymous, balancing, and contrasted with, *fide et adfectu*. Cp. *Dial.* 5. 4 with Gudeman's note. *Est* is retained by some with the sense 'exists between them'; but with *est* we should expect *vinclum*. The verb need not be expressed, but it seems easier to suppose *est* and *sunt* confused in compendia (e.g. *ē* for *s̄*, c. 20, 3, note) than the former interpolated.

infirma vincla caritatis: a bitter understatement, as they are not really bonds of affection at all.

victoriae incitamenta, 'incentives to victory'. So the wives and children present are called *hortamenta victoriae* in *H.* 4. 18, 4. The British women were present in the battle against Suetonius (*A.* 14. 34, 4); the German custom is described in *G.* 7, 4; 8, 1: and that of the Thracians in *A.* 4. 51, 2. The same enumeration of *coniuges*, *parentes*, *patria* is made in the appeal of Civilis (*H.* 5. 17, 4).

aut nulla plerisque patria, 'most of them have no home or an alien home', i.e. are a *colluvies* with no homeland feeling (having forgotten their *patria*) or have a different home from the Romans for whom they fight, like Gauls, Germans, &c., who gave their name to cohorts and *alae*. Gudeman compares Sall. *Epist. Mithr.* 17 *convenas olim* (*Romanos*) *sine patria*, *parentibus*.

§ **3. trepidos**. The MSS. *circum* before *trepidos* probably arose by anticipation from *circumspectantis*. Anquetil's *locorum trepidos ignorantia* would give a very improbable order of words.

ignorantia: explained by *caelum . . . circumspectantis*, which perhaps contain a reminiscence of Sall. *Jug.* 72, 2 *circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere*.

vinctos, 'spellbound'. So used of panic-stricken or hampered soldiers in *A.* 1. 65, 4; *H.* 1. 79, 3.

auri fulgor atque argenti. Cp. *fulgentibus aquilis signisque*, *A.* 15. 29, 4, and *fulsere signa*, c. 26, 2. The reference is to the gold *aquila* and the silver decorations of the standards (*signa*), not to the soldiers' decorations, *dona militaria*, which would not be worn in battle.

nostras manus, troops who will be on our side, 'bodies of allies'. The emphatic position of the verbs in this and the next sentence is noteworthy.

§ **4. adgnoscent . . . suam causam**, 'will see that our cause is their own'.

tam . . . quam: as in c. 2, 3: *H.* 1. 83, &c., with the force of *non*

minus quam. Andresen accepts *tamquam* from the margin of *E*, writing it *tam quam* so as to give the sense required, apparently because the position of *tam* in *E* breaks the anaphora of the verbs. The reason seems inadequate, and the word is never elsewhere so written in Tacitus. For the Usipi, cp. c. 28, 1.

ultra: beyond the army facing us. *Formido* here of that which can cause fear, as in Sall. *Jug.* 23, 1; 66, 1. Cp. *metus*, *A.* 1. 40, 1.

vacua castella, 'forts drained of their garrisons'. This and the other expressions are exaggerations of the speaker, not actual facts. The auxiliary force employed in the battle was much smaller than the total number probably serving in Britain at the time.

coloniae: usually taken as a rhetorical plural referring only to Camulodunum (Colchester), but Lincoln (Lindum) became a *colonia* during Vespasian's reign, c. A.D. 74–7, when the Ninth legion was moved forward to York, *Introd.*, p. xxxvii. Glevum (Gloucester) and Eburacum (York) became colonies later, the former in A.D. 96–8 (Dessau, 2365), the latter in the second or early third century.

inter, often used with the force of an abl. abs. or causal sentence, 'where subjects are disobedient, and masters tyrannical', *cum alteri male pareant, alteri iniuste imperent.* So *inter temulentos* = *cum temulenti essent*, *A.* 1. 50, 7.

aegra, 'feeble', 'sickly', opposed to *validus* in *H.* 1. 4, 1; cp. 2. 86, and *aegram Italiam* (*A.* 11. 23. 2), &c.

municipia: native towns which by natural development and the growth of Roman civilization were considered fit to receive the Roman citizenship and a constitution of the Italian type. The plural is perhaps rhetorical. At least Verulam alone is known as a *municipium* (*A.* 14. 33. 4). Londinium had no similar status. *Discordantia*, 'mutinous': cp. c. 16, 4.

§ 5. **hic dux, hic exercitus**: referring to themselves, 'on this side you have a leader and a national army, on that side bondage and all belonging to it'. *Hic* and *ibi* are opposed in *A.* 15. 50, 7, *hic* and *illic* in *A.* 1. 61, 6, *hinc* and *inde* very often, *hinc*, *hinc* in c. 25, 1. Others interpret: 'here you have the army of the foe (Romans), which you have only to conquer to be free: there (beyond this field, with a gesture), if you are beaten, you have bondage'. So Andresen.

metalla: used concisely for mine labour, and as a type of servile labour (cp. c. 31, 2).

statim ulcisci, 'here and now', for, though the penalties are not yet inflicted, they are certain to be imposed in the event of defeat.

in hoc campo est, 'depends on this field'. *Est* = *positum est.* Cp. *in his omnia*, c. 33, 5. The same idea is elsewhere put in other words, e.g. *illos esse campos in quibus* (*H.* 3. 24, 1).

proinde, hortatory, 'accordingly'.

maiores vestros, &c., i.e. 'think of the freedom which you inherited from the one and ought to hand on to the other'. *Cogitare* always with accus. in Tacitus.

CHAPTER XXXIII

§ 1. **ut . . . moris** qualifies the words which follow: cp. c. 11, 1. For *moris*, cp. c. 39, 1; 42, 5, &c. This quasi-partitive or qualitative genitive is classical.

dissonis, 'confused', to Roman ears inarticulate.

agmina, &c., 'there were bodies of troops in movement, and flashes of arms as the boldest darted before the ranks'. The omission of a verb like *aspiciebantur* is in Tacitus' manner. The ablative is that of attendant circumstances (= *audentissimo quoque procurrente*). The rare plural *fulgores* is used of separate flashes of lightning in Cicero and Seneca. *Audens* (usually in a good sense) occurs perhaps in no earlier prose, the superlative elsewhere only in Gellius, 6. 2.

adhuc, 'still further': cp. c. 29, 4.

ita disseruit. Cp. the words used in c. 29, 4. Whether Tacitus had any knowledge of what Agricola actually said or not, it seems clear that this speech also is essentially his composition, and its calmness and determination are put in studied rhetorical contrast to the overstrained language of the other. Eussner noted some apparent reminiscences of the speech of Scipio, perhaps also of that of Hannibal before Ticinum (Liv. 21. 40-4): see on c. 34. 1, 3.

§ 2. **septimus annus est.** The manuscript copyists may easily have confused vii and viii in their exemplar, and the correction is required by the chronology (cp. the parallel confusion in c. 44, 1). Against the supposition that a year has been lost must be set the fact that the sixth year (c. 25, 1) is referred to below as *proximus* (c. 34, 1); and the previous years are accounted for.

virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani. This difficult phrase (and particularly *virtus imperii*) has caused editors great perplexity and led them to change the text to *virtute vestra, auspiciis* (*ura* having dropped out and *et* being subsequently inserted). But this makes Tacitus place the soldiers' *virtus* before the *auspicia* and separate it from the *fides atque opera* of the general (keeping the MSS. *nostra*), and it destroys the obvious balance between *virtus et ausp.* and *fides atque opera.* Urlichs' change is too violent and ruins the rhythm. Peter, retaining the MSS. text, made *imperii R.* equivalent to *imperatorum*, abstract being used for concrete because the successes were won not under one emperor, but under three. Obviously this is not a valid reason for choosing an abstract expression, and *virtute* has to be explained unsatisfactorily as the emperors' 'power and excellence generally'. More probably a general expression was chosen to avoid any allusion to Domitian, to whom the *auspicia* belonged after Sept. 13, A.D. 81 (for the usual phrase, cp. *A.* 15. 26, 3 *magnifica de auspiciis imperatoris*, &c. and *A.* 2. 41, 1 *auspiciis Tiberii*). There would have been no difficulty if Tacitus had said *populi Romani*: cp. *populi R. virtutem armis adfirmavi* (*H.* 4. 73, where Heraeus wrongly adopts Nipperdey's change of text) and *populi R. auspiciis* (Livy 30. 14, 8). Here he

has substituted *imp. Rom.*, personified as elsewhere, because soldiers are being addressed, just as *fortuna imperii* is used in *H.* 4. 57 in preference to *fortuna p. R.* (*H.* 3. 46). *Virtus* expresses the valorous and other high qualities of an imperial people. Warde Fowler suggested that Tacitus may have had in mind Virg. *Aen.* 6. 781–2 *en huius, nate, auspiciis illa inclula Roma imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo*: in c. 29, 4 he borrows a phrase from the sixth book, and Virgil was his favourite poet (*Introd.*, p. lxxxv). Tacitus, Warde Fowler thinks, meant that 'combination of human excellence and divine approbation which made Rome great' (*Cl. Rev.* 18. 43 f.).

fide atque opera vestra. The MSS. have *nostra*, 'my loyalty and zeal' (not including the soldiers, which would require *vicimus*). This is not a very suitable phrase in the mouth of a commander-in-chief speaking of himself, and a special reference to the soldiers' qualities is required. Now *fidelis opera* is a sort of technical expression in Livy for the loyal service of soldiers, and especially *socii* (who fight Agricola's battle): e.g. 23. 46, 6 *forti fidelique opera*; 24. 47, 11 *opera eorum forti ac fideli* (quoted by Wex), and of subordinate *legati* in 28. 9, 20. And *ura* for *nra* is the easiest emendation possible. Agricola does not refer to himself till the next sentence.

expeditionibus . . proeliis: to be taken as quasi-local ablatives with *paenituit*.

adversus . . . naturam, 'against Nature herself', i.e. storms (c. 22, 1), marshes, mountains, rivers (§ 4), forests, &c. (§ 5); not merely 'the elements'.

§ **3. non fama . . . tenemus:** a rhetorical expression, which might mean 'our hold is not a matter of report or rumour, but of armed occupation'. But the paraphrase which follows shows that the meaning is: 'we are no longer dependent on report or rumour for our knowledge of the remotest tract of Britain, we have discovered it and subdued it'. There seems to be a play on the double meaning of *tenere* (1) 'know' as in *Dial.* 32, 3 (*non teneant* = *ignorent*) and (2) 'hold'. For *finis Br.* = *terminus Br.*, see note on c. 30, 5. *Fama* is report more circumstantial than *rumor*, mere talk (*sermones*), which is added for emphasis: p. lxxxv.

inventa . . . subacta: rhetorical exaggeration. Cp. *incognitas . . . invenit domuitque*, c. 10, 5. *Inventa*, discovered what was only vaguely known from *fama*. *Subacta* is an optimistic anticipation, assuming both that the issue of the battle will be favourable and that it will complete the conquest; cp. *perdomita*, c. 10, 1, *Introd.*, p. lxxi.

§ **4. dabitur . . . in manus veniet.** For *dabitur* cp. *daretur pugna* (*A.* 2. 13, 3). For the meaningless *animus* editors have generally adopted *acies*, but *acies* could hardly be corrupted to *animus*. For *in manus* ⟨*veniet*⟩, cp. *H.* 4. 76 *venturos in manus . . . Civilis et Classici*; *H.* 4. 29 *ubi . . . edpositae scalae hostem in*

manus dederant; somewhat different is the use of *in manus venire* for combatants closing. There seems to be a rhetorical stress on *veniunt*, as if the word had been already used. *Manus* and *animus* are easily confused. For the plural following the singular after a collective noun, cp. *H*. 4. 33, &c.

vota virtusque in aperto, 'your prayers and prowess have a free field', a concise way of saying 'your wishes are realized and it is open to you to show your valour'. For *in aperto* cp. c. 1, 2; and for the sentiment, cp. *quod votis optastis adest* (Virg. *Aen.* 10, 279), and Liv. 34. 13, 5.

omniaque prona victoribus: repeated in *H*. 3. 64, 1, and taken from Sallust's *omnia virtuti suae prona esse* (*Jug.* 114. 2). The passage shows also a general reminiscence of *Cat.* 58, 9. For *pronum*, cp. c. 1, 2, and for *victoribus* ('if you conquer') *A*. 13. 57, 3.

§ **5. in frontem.** The opposition shows that this must have the sense of 'if we advance', but the expression is harsh and difficult to explain. It is perhaps best to regard it as an instance of Tacitus' not infrequent use of *in* with the force of πρός, 'in relation to', and practically equivalent to a dative (cp. *A*. i, *Introd.* v, § 60 *b*). *In frontem* thus = *fronti*, a variation of *progredientibus*, or similar participle, avoided perhaps for the sake of euphony. Cp. *terga*, 'retreat', in § 6. Furneaux supplied the sense of such a word as *spectantibus*, 'looking to the front', i.e. to our line of advance, or a verb of motion, like *progredientibus*.

ita. Peter defended the MSS. *item* from Cic. *Off.* 2. 14, 51; *Tusc.* 5. 3, 9, but the antithesis *ut . . . ita* is constant in Tacitus; and compendia of the two words could very easily be confused, or the preceding syllable *-tem* was repeated by a copyist.

manus et arma: cp. c. 25, 3. **in his omnia**, more fully *in armis omnia sita*, Sall. *Jug.* 51, 4.

§ **6. decretum est** = *statui*, *iudicavi*. Draeger compares *in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi*, Cic. *ad F.* 2. 6, 3.

proinde, here = *igitur*: cp. *H*. 1. 21, 4, &c. Logically the conclusion introduced by *proinde* is *incolumitas . . . sunt*, and *honesta mors* &c. is a subordinate thought (explaining *decus*), but the transposition advocated by Nipperdey (*Rh. Mus.* 18. 364) is unnecessary.

eodem loco sita sunt, i.e. go together.

fuerit: potential.

naturae, 'the world', 'creation', here synonymous with *terrae* and emphasizing the remoteness of the spot. Usually it includes the ocean: cp. *illuc usque . . . natura*, *G*. 45, 1, and *arte oceanum transgressa et ad naturae inane pervecta*, Pliny, *N. H.* 30. 1, 13.

CHAPTER XXXIV

§ **1. constitisset**, 'had stood to face you': cp. c. 35, 3, &c.

decora, 'glorious deeds'. So *tanti decoris testis* (*A*. 15. 50, 7), *referre sua decora* (Liv. 21. 43, 17), &c.

proximo anno, see c. 26, 1.

furto noctis, 'by surprise at night'. So *furtum noctis obstare non patiar* (Curt. 4. 13, 9), *furta belli* (Sall. *H.* 1. 112 Maur., 1. 86 D.).

clamore, 'by a mere shout'.

ceterorum . . . fugacissimi. This Greek idiom (cp. Thucyd. 1. 1, 1, &c.) is repeated in *H.* 1. 50, 6 *solus omnium ante se*, and is here softened by the following *superstites*.

§ **2. quo modo**: often used by Tacitus for *quemadmodum*, and thus followed by *sic*.

penetrantibus: best taken as a concise abl. abs., sc. *vobis*. Cp. c. 18, 7.

fortissimum quodque . . . ruere . . . pellebantur. The use of *agmen* and the past tense *pellebantur* show that the remark is not general, but intended to refer to the campaigns which they had gone through. *Ruere* is perfect indicative, answered by *ceciderunt*. Tacitus is very fond of the perfect form *-ere*, and prefers it more and more to the popular *-erunt* as his historical style develops. In the *Agricola* (where the inferior MSS. sometimes substituted the popular form) the proportion is 30 to 7, in the later works about 14 to 1. Here the perfect contrasts the sudden charge with the process of retreat (*pellebantur*). For the plural after *quisque* with an adjective, cp. *A.* 12. 43, 1: 14. 18, 2, &c.: and for *ruere*, 'charge', c. 35, 2; 37, 3. *Ruere* is taken by some as historical infinitive, but the use of such infinitive in a temporal clause followed by an imperfect depending on the same conjunction is hardly parallel. The more obvious marginal variant *ruebant* seems clearly to be due to conjecture.

reliquus, &c., 'what is left is a mass of weaklings and cowards': cp. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 2, 27 *numerus sumus*.

§ **3. quod . . . invenistis**, 'as to the fact that you have found them'. Such a use of *quod* is perhaps found here alone in Tacitus (in other apparently similar examples the *quod* clause is the subject of a following verb). *Quos quod* stands for *qui, quod eos*, like *quibus si* for *quae, si eis* in *H.* 3. 36, 1.

non restiterunt, &c., 'they have not made a stand, but have been caught.' We have here, perhaps, a reminiscence of Liv. 21. 40, 6 *nec nunc illi quia audent sed quia necesse est pugnaturi sunt*.

novissimae res, 'their extremity': cp. *novissimum casum* (*H.* 2. 48, 4; *A.* 12. 33, 2, &c.). The word is coupled with *extremus* in *G.* 24, 3. As regards the MSS. reading in this clause, it is plain that *corpora* and *aciem* cannot both stand, and the choice lies between Ritter's *torpor* for *corpora*, Schoemann's *extremus metus corpore*, and Gudeman's *extremus metus corpora*, with *aciem* deleted as a gloss on *corpora* (rhetorically chosen as a contemptuous term). On the whole Schoemann's restoration seems the best: for a nominative changed to an ablative under the influence of a following ablative, cp. c. 18, 3, where *E* wrote *animo simili periculo* for *animus*, and c. 37, 5: 44, 4. In Ritter's proposal the combination of

noviss. res and *torpor* as subject is somewhat bizarre ; and *aciem* as an explanatory gloss on *corpora* is extremely improbable. The emendation of Urlichs is somewhat more violent, though nearer to the possible reminiscence of Liv. 22. 53, 6 *quod malum . . . cum . . . torpidos defixisset*. For *defixere* 'rooted to the spot', 'paralysed', cp. *milite ob metum defixo*, *A*. 1. 68, 2 ; *pavore defixis*, *A*. 13. 5, 3. For *torpor*, cp. Livy 9. 2, 10 *stupor omnium animos ac velut torpor . . . membra tenet*.

in his vestigiis, 'on the ground on which they stand', cp. *mori in vestigio* (Liv. 22. 49, 4), *H*. 4. 60, 4.

ederetis, final subjunctive, 'were destined to show forth': cp. *pars . . . imperii fierent*, *G*. 29, 1. The sense of *edere* is analogous to that of *edere spectaculum*.

§ **4**. **transigite**, 'have done with' (cp. *semel transigitur*, *G*. 19, 3), an extension of the classical *transigere cum aliquo*.

imponite, &c., 'crown with one great day', analogous to *finem imponere*.

quinquaginta, a stretch of rhetoric : only forty-two years at most (A. D. 43–84) had intervened since the invasion of Claudius. Heraeus' change to *quadraginta* seems pedantic.

adprobate, 'prove'. So with acc. and inf. in *H*. 1. 3, 3.

exercitui : emphatic, to want of spirit in the *soldiers*.

CHAPTER XXXV

§ **2**. **instinctos**, 'inspirited', 'fired': cp. c. 16, 1. *Ruentis* 'eager to charge'; so used by itself of charging the enemy in c. 37, 3 ; *H*. 3. 82, 6 ; 4. 78, 3.

ita disposuit : on the troops present, see *Introd*., p. lxxvii. The 3,000 horse here mentioned are distinct from the four *alae* of c. 37, 1.

milium. For the genit., cp. Caes. *B. G*. 5. 5, 3 ; Liv. 6. 22, 8, &c.

firmarent, 'should make a strong centre' (cp. c. 14, 4, and note), taken almost verbatim from Liv. 22. 46, 3.

adfunderentur, 'were spread out on', apparently here alone in this sense : *circumfundere* or *circumfundi* is so used of horse in *A*. 3. 46, 5, &c.

pro vallo, 'in front of' (cp. *A*. 2. 80, 5, &c.), not 'along' or 'upon' (as in *H*. 1. 36, 4 ; 2. 26, 3). So in the battle which ended Trajan's first Dacian war the legionary troops (as indicated in scene 66 of the Column, ed. Cichorius) were held in reserve in front of the camp. The tactics there adopted are in general similar to those of Agricola, except that the forests exclude the use of cavalry.

victoriae, dative, 'in the event of victory', parallel to *si pellerentur*, for which no substantive was available ; cp. *victoribus*, c. 33, 4. *Decus* is in apposition to the whole preceding clause, *auxilium* to *legiones* only ('to add to victory the great glory of . . . and to be a reinforcement if . . .').

citra, 'stopping short of (i.e. without) shedding Roman blood'.

Cp. c. 1, 3: *citra sanguinem* in Sen. *de Cl.* 1. 25, 1; and the similar sentiment in *A.* 3. 39, 3 *sine nostro sanguine* and 14. 23, 4 *hostilem audaciam externo sanguine ultus est.*

This unworthy explanation seems an invention of Tacitus. During the first two centuries the legionaries were the chief arm, but the auxiliaries sometimes formed the first line when the enemy took up a defensive position on ground where legionaries could not be successfully employed. Cp. Cheesman, *Auxilia*, p. 103 f.

bellandi defines *decus*: cp. *effugium . . . prorumpendi* (*A.* 2. 47, 2), and *A.* 3. 63, 6. No emendation is therefore necessary.

pellerentur. The subject (*auxilia*) is supplied from the sense.

§ **3. in speciem**, &c., 'for show and to strike terror'. The words are joined in *A.* 2. 6, 3, and the latter explains the former, as it explains *altitudinem* in *G.* 38, 4. *Simul* is thus perhaps rhetorical amplification only, as Andresen thinks, though Gudeman takes it to express the expected virtual coincidence of cause and effect.

in aequo, sc. *esset* or *consisteret*.

conexi velut insurgerent. *Conexi* is generally accepted for *conuexi*, which, even if it could mean merely 'sloping' and be used of people (for which Claudian, *De VI cons. Hon.* 614, affords no parallel, the true reading being *conexum vulgus*) would be a repetition of *adclive*. If (with Wex and Nipperdey) we regard the use of *insurgerent* as normal, then *velut* ought to stand before *conexi*, since the whole can hardly be taken as a single idea. We should thus have to place *velut* before *conexi*, in which case the expression would resemble *ut conserta acies*, 'as it were linked together, man to man' (*A.* 6. 35, 2). But probably Andresen is right in regarding *insurgerent* as sufficiently figurative to have *velut* before it, denoting that the ranks standing behind one another on ascending ground seemed to 'rise up threateningly against them'. Cp. *H.* 2. 14, 4 *pars classicorum . . . in collis . . . exurgeret*, the hinder ranks rising up above the front.

media campi, 'the intervening space of plain': see on *silvarum profunda*, c. 25, 1.

covinnarius eques. For the British war-chariot (*covinnus*), see on c. 12, 1. The Romans had a carriage called after it (Mart. 12. 24, 1). The adjective is found only here and in c. 36, 3. The Celtic word is a combination of 'vignos' (*plaustrum*) with a prefixed particle (Holder). The emendation *et eques* presumes that the enemy had cavalry as well as chariots; but although the Britons generally were not without cavalry (see on c. 12, 1), the Caledonians may have had none, and none seem to be mentioned in this battle.

strepitu ac discursu: perhaps equivalent to *strepitu discurrentium*.

§ **4. ne in frontem simul et**, &c. In support of the omission of the MSS. *simul* after *ne* Wölfflin notes that *simul . . . simul et* is not Tacitean, and *simul . . . simul* is used with simple cases, as in c. 25, 1; 36, 1; 41, 4 (*Philol.* 26. 112).

diductis, &c., 'extending his line'. Livy has *diductis cornibus* in 31. 21, 14.

porrectior, 'too thin'. A simple comparative would here be a mere truism.

promptior: often with *in* or *ad*. With *firmus* the construction changes to a simple case (probably dative, for the usual *adversus*), as often elsewhere (c. 22. 4, &c.). The words describe Agricola's general character: 'hopeful in disposition, and resolute in face of difficulties'.

pedes ante vexilla. Similar examples were set by Caesar (*B. G.* 1. 25, 1) and Catiline (Sall. *Cat.* 59, 1); see c. 18, 3, note. The *vexilla* are the flags of the auxiliaries. Strictly the term denotes the regimental standards (as they probably were) of *alae*, the troop standards of the mounted section of certain infantry regiments, *cohortes equitatae*, and the ensigns of all detachments; but the word is sometimes loosely used by Tacitus.

CHAPTER XXXVI

§ **1. gladiis . . . excutere**, 'parry with their swords or keep off with their shields'. Cp. *scuta, ut missilia . . . vitarent*, Livy 38. 21, 3, and *obliquis ictibus tela deflectere*, Veget. 1, 4. It seems best to take *constantia* and *arte* as modal ablatives, *gladiis* and *caetris* as instrumental, to which the infinitives *vitare* and *excutere* answer chiastically. Andresen and others take *gladiis* and *caetris* as ablatives of quality, like *legionariis armis* in *A.* 3. 43, 2. The weapons may be compared to the Highland targe and claymore. For an illustration of the *caetra* or *cetra* see *Dict. of Ant.* s. v.

quattuor Batavorum cohortis. The numeral is omitted in the inferior MSS. owing to its similarity to *Uatauorum*, and editors had suggested the insertion of *tres* or *quinque* before *Batavorum* or after *cohortis*. There had once been eight attached to the Fourteenth legion in Britain (*H.* 1. 59, 2), but after the rebellion of A. D. 69 they were all apparently disbanded, those here mentioned being new creations. On the Batavian and Tungrian cohorts in Agricola's army, see *Introd.*, p. lxxvi. The Batavians lived in the island formed by the bifurcation of the lower Rhine (see *G.* 29, &c.); the Tungri were a German tribe settled in the district of Tongres near Liège (cp. *G.* 2, 5).

rem ad mucrones ac manus. *Mucrones* is used for the more usual *gladios* to fix attention on the distinction between the Roman and the British sword.

inhabile, 'awkward'.

parva . . . gerentibus. It is just possible, perhaps, that both explanations (*parva . . . gerentibus* and *nam . . . tolerabant*) are genuine, as they do not altogether repeat each other. The smallness of their shields and great size of their swords were disadvantages, and the pointlessness of the latter an additional disadvantage at close quarters. But the first clause is open to grave suspicion, as

it repeats what has been already mentioned (*brevibus caetris et ingentibus gladiis*) and partially anticipates the *nam* clause, breaking its connexion with *inhabile*. Livy speaks (22. 46, 5) of the Gaulish swords as *praelongi et sine mucronibus*, and contrasts them with the Spanish. This long iron sword, too flexible for thrusting, and therefore made without a point, is very different from the earlier short, pointed, leaf-shaped sword of the bronze age (see Rice Holmes, *Anc. Brit.*, p. 147). Specimens corresponding to Tacitus' description have been found: they have blunt points and nearly straight edges tapering only slightly near the point (*ibid.*, p. 231).

complexum armorum, 'a grapple', crossing swords hand to hand. The expression occurs only here, but Gudeman compares Pseud.-Quint. *Decl.* 4. 22 *in Martis complexu cadere*. In battle generally the Britons seem to have relied on their greater agility and rapidity of movement as against Roman soldiers (see Caes. *B. G.* 5. 16).

in arto. This correction of *in aperto* is required by sense and context, and a scribe might easily confound *arto* with *apto*. Cp. Liv. 28. 33. 9, and the description of the Germans in *A.* 2. 21, 1.

tolerabant: predicated of ships in *A.* 2. 6, 2, as *pati* of the sea in *H.* 5. 6, 5. Here the swords are boldly personified, or the swordsmen rather than the swords are thought of.

§ **2. miscere ictus** might mean 'plant blow upon blow', the blows being delivered in such rapid succession that there hardly seemed to be intervals between them (*continuo et velut uno ictu*, c. 44. 5). Cp. *densarent ictus*, *A.* 2. 14, 4. But the phrase is perhaps better taken as a graphic variation of *miscere manus* (*A.* 2. 15, 3), i.e. *manus conserere*, inspired possibly by Virgil's *vulnera miscent* (*Aen.* 12. 720).

fodere. This emendation is generally accepted. *Foedare* would be somewhat out of place by the side of plain words like *miscere ictus*, *ferire*. The citation from *H.* 3. 77, 3, *verberibus foedatus*, is not parallel; and *fodere* is a regular word for stabbing. Even in the case of a Roman soldier the face was the most vulnerable part, and most barbarians had no helmets. See *A.* 2. 14, 4.

adstiterant: often in the military sense of taking position.

erigere: see on c. 18, 3.

conisae: cp. *studio laetitiaque conixi*, *H.* 4. 53, 3. The ablatives are best taken as modal.

proximos quosque. In such superlative constructions Tacitus in his later writings keeps to the singular, but has *praecipui quique* in *A.* 14. 31, 3 (Wölfflin, *Philol.* 26. 150).

semineces: a poetical word, also in Livy.

§ **3. interim equitum turmae**. Here (as often) *E* has no punctuation. *A* puts a comma after *fugere*, thus understanding the *equites* to be Caledonians and *hostes* in the next sentence to be the Romans. But no Caledonian horse appear to be present (if indeed any existed, see on c. 35, 3), and *turmae*, rarely used of

other than Roman cavalry, apparently refers here to those on the wings (c. 35, 2), who must have repelled the chariots in the plain (between the opposing forces) before the infantry could close, and presumably had been further engaged with them while the battle was going on, though Tacitus does not trouble about such a detail. To make the words *fugere covinnarii* an abrupt parenthesis would be very awkward, and would seem to require *fugerant*. To treat them as a gloss is to leave the disappearance of this force from the battle wholly unexplained. Hence probably *ut* (or *ubi* or *enim*) has dropped out. Urlichs' suggestion, that the *enim* which the MSS. have before *pugnae* (below) is the word missing here and wrongly re-inserted there by a later corrector, has not much probability.

recentem terrorem: not 'fresh terror', in the sense of 'additional to that caused by the infantry' (*novum terrorem*). The same phrase in *A*. 14. 23, 1 means terror recently struck, the effect of which is still fresh (cp. Cic. *Tusc*. 3. 31, 75). Here it appears to mean the terror caused for the moment by the attack of the cavalry before they became wedged, rather than that which had just been caused by the repulse of the chariots.

haerebant: so with abl. in *A*. 1. 65, 4. The enemy did not give way as they expected.

minimeque aequa nostris iam pugnae facies. This passage is badly corrupted. The attempts to explain the MSS. *equestris ea* (or *ei*) *enim pugnae* must be deemed failures. There cannot be a 'cavalry battle' when one side has no cavalry; and Livy's description of a cavalry engagement at Cannae *minime equestris more pugnae* (22. 47, 1) and Sallust's account of a battle *non uti equestri proelio solet* (*Jug*. 59, 3) have nothing in common with that of Tacitus except the entanglement of horsemen in masses of the enemy (and there the masses are cavalry or cavalry and infantry mixed). Moreover, the retention of *equestris* leaves *impellerentur* without a subject, and the *cum* clause is no explanation of *minime equestris facies*. All these difficulties are met by an emendation made independently by Anquetil and Wex, *aequa nostris iam* (written *aequañr̃is iã*), which is not far from the MSS. reading. Cp. the corruptions of *nam* in c. 37, 3 with *ea* (*ei*) *enim*. When the Roman horsemen mingled with their infantry (cp. Sall. *Jug*. 59, 3) and the enemy held their ground, the aspect of the battle became unfavourable to the Romans, as the infantry, hardly able to keep their footing on the slope, were dislodged by the jostling of the horses. For *pugnae facies*, cp. *H*. 2. 42, 4, &c.; and c. 38, 2.

aegre clivo instantes: emended by Triller and Schoemann. Cp. Virg. *Aen*. 11. 529 *instare iugis*. *Cliuo* for *diua* is easy (confusion of *a* and *o* in *E* occurs in c. 21, 1; 37, 2; 38, 5; 39, 2 *quarum* for *quorum*); and equally easy is *instantes* for *utstantes* (*s* lost before *simul*), cp. *intulisse* for *uttulisse* in c. 26, 3. *E* uses the Greek form of *t*, which makes the confusion of *in* and *ut*

especially easy. Andresen has wrongly revived the old and impossible *adstantes*.

exterriti, &c.: taken from Sall. *H.* 1. 139 Maur. (1. 96 D), *equi sine rectoribus exterriti aut saucii consternantur*. Cp. *A.* 1. 65, 6 *excussis rectoribus disicere obvios*, &c. The riderless horses were Roman.

transversos aut obvios, 'in flank or front', of the Romans. The next words show that, though the Romans are called *vincentes*, their progress was very difficult, and that the British reserve was thereby induced to advance.

CHAPTER XXXVII

§ **1. Britanni**: those in the rear (c. 35. 3).

vacui = *otiosi*, and explained by *pugnae expertes*: in *H.* 4. 17, 7 it is opposed to *occupati*. Some take it to mean *securi* (comparing the MS. reading in *A.* 2. 46, 1), which seems hardly suitable to their position. Others wrongly regard it as a gloss on *pugnae expertes*.

vincentium, 'the conquering side' (not yet victorious): cp. *H.* 4. 78, 4, &c.

coeperant, i. e. they had begun to do so and would have done so, had not . . . See on c. 13. 4.

subita belli, 'emergencies'. So in Liv. 6. 32, 5, &c.

§ **2. consilium**: that of attacking in rear.

aversam: on the opposite side, i. e. in the rear.

tum vero, &c. The description, evidently imitated from Sall. *Jug.* 101, 11, is partly repeated in *H.* 3. 17, 4 *ceteri, ut cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere*.

§ **3. prout cuique ingenium**, 'as each was inclined' (to flee or face death). *Hostium* depends both on *catervae* and on *quidam*, which are contrasted, like *armatorum* and *inermes*.

terga praestare: for the threadbare *dare, praebere*. So Juvenal 15, 75. The correctness of Tacitus' instinct is shown by the fact that in late Latin *praestare* was much used as a choice synonym for *dare* or *praebere*, especially when greater dignity was desired (Löfstedt, p. 204; *Introd.*, pp. lxxxiii f.).

ruere 'charge' (cp. c. 34, 2). The sense of *contra* is here implied.

aliquando, &c., suggested by Virg. *Aen.* 2. 367, *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus*. These are distinguished from those who flung away their lives.

§ **4. nam postquam**, &c. After *adpropinquaverunt* the best MSS. (*E* and *T*) have *nam* and the other MSS. various corruptions of it. Andresen's transference of the conjunction to the head of the sentence seems the best correction. *Nam* might be retained by attaching the *postquam* clause to the preceding sentence, as Leuze suggested. But the attachment is intolerable: the epigrammatic *aliquando . . . virtusque* cannot have a tail trailing behind, and

aliquando also is against it. *Iam* suggested by Hedicke (it is an old suggestion) might be defended by *postquam . . . iam* in *A.* 4. 68, 5, but there several clauses precede the adverb.

adpropinquaverunt: the subject is *Britanni*, supplied from *victis*.

gnari. This correction of *ignari* is supported by *H.* 2. 13, 1; 85, 4; 5. 6, 8. The *i* probably arose from the preceding *m*, cp. c. 19, 4. Tacitus seems to have had in mind Liv. 22. 31, 4 *cum a frequentibus palantes ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur*, but here *incautos* and *collecti* are not so opposed as to require another antithesis to balance them.

quod ni: see on c. 26, 3.

frequens, 'always present': so used elsewhere with local ablative. Cp. *multus in agmine*, c. 20, 2.

indaginis modo, more commonly *velut indagine*, as in *A.* 13. 42, 7. *Indago* is the process of hedging round the cover of wild animals by toils or by a line or circle of men to prevent their escape and then rounding them up (or the means by which they are hedged round): cp. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 121 *saltusque indagine cingunt*, and the Greek σαγηνεύειν (Herod. 6. 31, 3). The comparison is used in (Caesar) *B. G.* 8. 18, 1 *campum velut indagine insidiis circumdederunt*, and by Livy 7. 37, 14 of cavalry rounding up the enemy and driving them against the main body of the army (*velut indag. agere*). Here the light infantry 'forming as it were a hunters' cordon' are aided in their drive by dismounted horsemen for the thicker parts of the forests and mounted men for the thinner.

et, sicubi artiora . . . persultare. The sentence as a whole is made a little obscure by the straining after conciseness, but it is not necessary to suppose a zeugma (and supply with *cohortis* a verb of motion like *progredi*), since *persultare* has the sense of 'scour' in *H.* 3. 49, 2 and *A.* 11. 9, 1, and does not appear to be confined to horsemen. 'He ordered light-armed cohorts together with horsemen, dismounted and mounted, to scour the forests'. The MSS. *equite persultari* has been defended; but to supply from the passive an active verb with the previous clauses is very awkward, and *i* for *e*, or *e* for *i*, is not an uncommon mistake in the best MS. (*E*). An alteration to *perscrutari* or *perlustrare* is unnecessary, and the former word is not Tacitean.

vulnus: so used metaphorically in c. 29, 1; 45, 5.

§ **5. rursus**, i. e. after their check.

agminibus, modal abl.: cp. *A.* 4. 51, 1 *catervis decurrentes*.

rari, adversative asyndeton for *sed rari*: cp. *A.* 5. 3, 3.

vitabundi in vicem, 'avoiding each other', for the classical *inter se*: see on c. 6, 1.

nox et satietas: so *nox* is coupled with *laetitia* (*H.* 4. 14, 3), with *lascivia* (*A.* 13. 15, 3).

§ **6. ad decem milia**. This is no doubt a mere guess, but looks moderate as compared with such guesses elsewhere: cp. *A.* 14. 37,

5. The auxiliaries, however, who won the battle numbered only from 13,000 to 14,000.

nostrorum . . . cecidere. As a general rule, Tacitus omits the number of Romans slain, and appears to have professed to follow Sallust in doing so (Oros. 7. 10, 4). The only exceptions besides this passage are found in *A.* 4. 73, 7: 14. 37, 5; *H.* 2. 17, 2.

Aulus Atticus: the only subordinate officer of Agricola mentioned in this treatise. Such a detail seems to belong rather to general history, but Atticus was probably a friend or relative of Agricola and Tacitus. The *praenomen* Aulus occurs among the Cornelii and oftener among the Iulii. Several Iulii Attici are known, and Columella tells us that one of them wrote on viticulture, *cuius velut discipulus Iulius Graecinus* (Agricola's father, c. 4, 1) *duo volumina similium praeceptorum de vineis*, &c. (1. 1, 14). Cp. *Introd.*, p. xxxiv. Prof. Haverfield noted that at Newstead, a fort founded by Agricola, armour, &c., of a Roman officer Domitius or Dometius Atticus were found (Curle, *Rom. Frontier Post*, p. 174, pl. 31, *Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1321) and suggested that if Aulus' full name were A. Domitius Atticus, he may have been a connexion of Agricola's wife Domitia (c. 6, 1). But the *praenomen* Aulus does not seem to occur in the *gens Domitia* (Prof. Dessau has kindly confirmed this), and otherwise the suggestion is not probable.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

§ **1. gaudio praedaque:** combination of abstract and concrete, as in c. 25. 1 *copiis et laetitia*, &c.

palantes, not 'wandering about' (*vagi*) but 'dispersing', as always in Tacitus.

trahere, &c.: the accumulation of ten historical infinitives is remarkable. In Sall. *Jug.* 66, 1 there are eleven.

per iram: cp. c. 29, 1, and note.

miscere . . . consilia aliqua, 'take counsel of some sort together'. Cp. *H.* 2. 7 *mixtis consiliis*. *Aliqua* (needlessly taken by some to be an interpolation) seems contemptuous. *Consilia* is again supplied with *separare* (= *separatim capere*), i. e. then each took thought for himself.

pignorum: without such a genit. as *amoris*, as in poets (Propertius and Ovid) and Livy. Cp. *G.* 7, 3, &c.

§ **2. tamquam misererentur,** 'as if in pity', to prevent their captivity. On the feeling of Germans in this respect, cp. *G.* 8, 1. It is not necessary to suppose the pity to be a pretence.

faciem: cp. c. 36, 3. *Aperire faciem* is a new phrase: the personification resembles that in Lucan 7. 787 *dies . . . damna retexit*. Cp. *aciem dies aperuit* (*H.* 4. 29, 4) and c. 22, 1.

vastum . . . silentium, 'the silence of desolation' (so in *A.* 4. 50, 6; *H.* 3. 13, 4) from Liv. 10. 34, 6.

secreti colles, 'lonely hills' (because deserted by their inhabi-

tants), a sense implicit in the ordinary meaning of *secretus*, 'secluded', 'retired', i.e. remote from human society (cp. *secreto lacu*, *G.* 40, 5). The text is genuine: no copyist would change the obvious *deserti* into *secreti*.

§ 3. **incerta fugae vestigia**: from Lucan, 8. 4.

spargi, 'spread over a wider area', apparently from Lucan (2. 682; 3. 64), who may have followed Virgil's *spargam arma* (*Aen.* 7. 551).

Borestorum: a wholly unknown people. His passing through them and taking hostages would show that they lay between the scene of the battle and his winter-quarters, and were one of the still hostile tribes, and so probably lived north of the line from Clyde to Forth, and within Caledonia (perhaps in the region of the Sidlaw or Ochil Hills). They may have become merged in some other tribe by Ptolemy's time. The name has been thought to mean 'foresters' (Rhys, p. 283): Stokes connects it with βορέας as = ὑπερβόρειοι. *Horesti*, like *Grampius*, is merely an error or conjecture of Puteolanus.

§ 4. **praecipit**: so with infin. for *ut* in c. 46, 3, a construction common with other such verbs. On the voyage see c. 10, 5; *Introd.*, pp. xxxix f.

vires, 'forces'. With these a landing was made on the Orkneys (c. 10, 5).

peditem atque equites. Gudeman would make both words plural or both singular, noting that Tacitus in combining these words never elsewhere varies the number, except in adversative clauses (as *G.* 6, 2) or different syntactical relations (as *A.* 14. 40, 4). But the variation may be regarded as one of many exceptional usages in the *Agricola*.

novarum gentium. It seems to be implied that he is still passing through Caledonia.

in hibernis. We should suppose them to be round about the Forth-Clyde isthmus and perhaps also farther south, e. g. at Trimontium (Newstead on the Tweed), &c. Cp. *Introd.*, pp. li, lxiii f.

§ 5. **secunda**: used by syllepsis with nouns belonging to different ideas.

Trucculensem. The locality is unknown, but it may have been Carpow on the Firth of Tay at the mouth of the river Earn, near Abernethy, or Cramond on the Firth of Forth. At both places there are Roman forts, and the latter has yielded Republican *denarii*, which passed out of circulation about the end of the Flavian period (see Macdonald in *J. R. S.* 1919, p. 135); *Introd.*, p. lxviii. Hübner noted that the *Ugrulentum* of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna (435, 21) is perhaps the same name (*Hermes*, 16. 545).

tenuit, 'took up its position in', a nautical term common in Livy.

unde . . . praelecto . . . redierat. *Unde* is taken only with *praelecto*, the sense being *quo*, *litore inde praelecto*, *redierat*, 'starting from whence it had coasted along all the adjoining side of

Britain, and to which it had returned'. Clearness is, as often, sacrificed to conciseness. Cp. *unde* taken with a participle only, in *A.* 15. 44, 1, &c. The simple verb *lecto* (evidently a conjecture) in the margin of *E* is not used in this sense by Tacitus.

The voyage would thus be supposed to have taken place between the date of the command issued (§ 4) and the winter, i. e. during the indefinite time occupied by his *lentum iter*. Madvig supposed that it could not have taken place so late in the season (cp. *exacta aestate*), and that the fleet was collected there to make the voyage next spring. But the season of the year is confirmed by *hiems adpetebat* (c. 10, 6), and the time required need not have been long. The fleet probably did not sail much beyond Cape Wrath (the Usipi perhaps had already sailed round it from the west, c. 28), and the descent on the Orkneys and sighting of Thule (c. 10, 6) would not entail a great divergence from the direct route. But the weather must have been very favourable if they met no autumnal storms. That Tacitus should mention the subject so cursorily may be explained by Agricola's having taken no personal share in the voyage; in a history we should expect a more circumstantial account. (Cp. *Introd.*, pp. xxiv, xxvi f.).

CHAPTER XXXIX

§ **1. epistulis.** Probably only one dispatch was sent in the year (cp. c. 18, 7); but Tacitus very frequently uses this plural (as *litterae* is always used) of a single letter. For *iactantia*, cp. note on c. 25, 1.

auctum is used in the sense of 'exaggerated' with *cuncta* (*A.* 2. 82, 1) and other words implying statements; so here with *rerum cursum* in the pregnant sense of 'the news of this course of events.' The MSS. *actum* (cp. note on c. 19, 4) in this context could only mean 'performed'.

ut erat Domitiano moris: for *Domitianus, ut ei moris erat*, an attraction apparently due to straining after conciseness. For *moris est* cp. c. 33, 1; c. 42, 5. *Ut erat Domitianus* (text of *E*) is clearly wrong, since *laetus* and *anxius* are merely adverbial definitions of *excepit*, 'with joy in his face but disquiet in his heart'.

fronte, 'outwardly'. Cp. *fronte an mente*, Cic. *ad Att.* 4. 15, 7, and *H.* 2. 65, 1.

§ **2. inerat conscientia**, 'he felt conscious'. So *quis flagitii conscientia inerat*, *H.* 4. 41, 1.

derisui occurs nowhere else in Tacitus. Caesar uses *irrisui*, Livy *risui*.

falsum . . . triumphum. Domitian triumphed twice for successes in Germany (cp. Janssen on Suet. *Dom.* 6). The first occasion (here referred to) was after the expedition against the Chatti in A.D. 83, when the frontier was advanced and secured in the Taunus district (*G.* 29. 4; see Pelham, *Essays in Rom. Hist.*, p. 189 ff.). The second triumph took place late in A.D. 89 after the suppression of

the revolt of Antonius Saturninus, with whom the Chatti were in alliance. (For these wars see Gsell, *Domitien*, p. 176 ff. and Weynand in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 2555 ff.). The war of A.D. 83 was followed by the conferment on Domitian of the title *Germanicus* and many other honours. Tacitus was probably an eye-witness of the triumph. That the war was a sham (cp. *G.* 37, 6) is maintained by other writers hostile to Domitian, Dio, 67. 4, 1 (μηδ' ἑορακώς που πόλεμον), and Plin. *Pan.* 16 (*mimicos currus*, *falsa simulacra victoriae*); but there is no doubt about the substantial results attained, as excavation has shown. Frontinus, who may have served in the expedition, says: *victis hostibus cognomen Germanici meruit* and speaks of Domitian's justice to the Germans (2. 11, 7), and again (2. 3, 23) of his directing a battle. He also refers to the newly instituted system of frontier defence (see note on *limite imperii*, c. 41, 2). Resentment makes Tacitus wilfully distort the facts (cp. note on § 4).

per commercia, 'in the way of trade': cp. c. 28, 5; *G.* 24, 4.

quorum, &c.: a similar story had been told of Gaius (Suet. *Cal.* 47), doubtless with equal falsity. Cp. c. 4, 1; 13, 4; *Introd.*, p. xlv, note. On German hair, cp. c. 11, 2, and note. For *in speciem*, cp. c. 35, 3.

at nunc (cp. c. 1, 4). This may depend on *inerat conscientia*, and it seems unnecessary to suppose a zeugma (sc. *reputabat*). The adjectives form the true predicate: 'the victory which was now extolled was real and great'.

§ **3. privati**, 'a subject', as in *H.* 1. 49, 7, &c.

frustra, &c., 'to no purpose had forensic eloquence, and the distinguished accomplishments of civil life been suppressed and silenced, if any other than himself should grasp military fame'. Cp. *studiis civilibus*, used of a jurist in *A.* 3. 75, 1. By *civiles artes* political (senatorial) activities in particular are meant. The suppression of *omnis bona ars* (see c. 2, 2) probably does not here refer to the expulsion of philosophers, which took place in A.D. 93, but to the general repression of Domitian's rule as a whole (c. 3, 2). So Pliny says (*Ep.* 8. 14, 2) *priorum temporum servitus, ut aliarum optimarum artium, sic etiam iuris senatorii oblivionem quandam et ignorantiam induxit.* Cp. also *Pan.* 66, 76.

cetera utcumque, &c. 'Talent of other kinds could more easily be somehow or other ignored (i.e. Domitian might disregard superiority in eloquence or political gifts), but good generalship was an imperial quality (i.e. not to be shared by a subject)'. For *utcumque* cp. *A.* 2. 14, 4, and note; for *dissimulari*, *A.* 4. 19, 4. *Et* before *cetera* in *A* and *B* is a repetition of the last syllable of *occuparet*.

§ **4. exercitus**, 'agitated': the phrase seems taken from Virg. *Aen.* 5. 779.

quodque, &c., 'what betokened a deadly purpose', in apposition to the following words, in which the stress is laid on *secreto*, as if Tacitus had written *et secreto suo* (*quod . . . indicium erat*) *satiatus*, 'after taking his fill of, indulging to the full in, his usual seclusion'.

His periods of retirement and brooding are spoken of in Plin. *Pan.* 48 (*illa immanissima belua . . . velut quodam specu inclusa . . . Non adire quisquam . . . tenebras semper secretumque captantem*, &c.), and his seclusion in his Alban villa (c. 45, 1) in many places. Some translate *secreto*, 'solitary brooding (or reserve)', which seems to add an idea implied but not expressed. Cp. c. 22, 5.

in praesentia: for the more common *in praesens* (*A.* 1. 4, 1, &c.), which is written by the second hand in the margin of *E*. The case is best taken as abl. sing., as it clearly is in Sen. *Ep.* 52, 15 : 72, 1.

reponere, 'to store up'. Cp. the description of the habit of Tiberius, *odia recondere auctaque promere* (*A.* 1. 69, 7), and his *animus revolvens iras* (*A.* 4. 21, 2).

impetus . . . languesceret, 'the first burst . . . should die down': cp. *impetus offensionis languerat*, *A.* 4. 21, 2, &c.

nam, &c., i. e. for he was still in command and was therefore to be feared. The words form a transition to the next chapter, in which Tacitus cannot bring himself to say plainly that Agricola was recalled. Nor does his fierce resentment allow him to speak the truth. Domitian had in fact nothing to fear from a middle-class official *peritus obsequi* (c. 8, 1). Tacitus veils the fact that his hero had governed for an unusually long period, and that soldiers were urgently needed on the Danube frontier (c. 41, 2, note), whither one legion (*II Adiutrix*) and doubtless a proportionate number of auxiliary troops were transferred soon after Agricola's recall. His resentment still burned six or seven years later when he wrote *perdomita Britannia et statim omissa*. See *Introd.*, pp. lxxi ff.

CHAPTER XL

§ 1. triumphalia ornamenta: called also *triumphalia insignia*, the only triumphal honour given to those not belonging to the imperial family, first bestowed on Tiberius and Drusus in B.C. 12 (Dio, 54. 31, 4). The term is analogous to *consularia*, *praetoria ornamenta*, &c. (fictions by which the title and dignity of an office were given without the office itself), and the grant entitled a person to be styled *triumphalis* and to wear the *toga picta*, *tunica palmata*, &c.

inlustris statuae: also called *statua triumphalis* (*H.* 1. 79, 8) or *laureata* (*A.* 4. 23, 1). The honour, though distinct from the *ornamenta*, usually accompanied them (*Staatsr.* i. 450, 2).

quidquid. *Supplicationes* and other rites would here be meant. We should expect *quidquid aliud*, but *aliud* is often omitted, e.g. *Dial.* 35, 5 : *H.* 2. 6, &c. Cp. notes on c. 6, 4 (*et inania*); 13, 1.

multo verborum honore. The repetition of *honore* after *honorem* may be intentional, to point the contrast, or it may be inadvertent (cp. Furneaux's note on *A.* 1. 81, 1).

decerni . . . iubet. Such honours were decreed by the senate, but usually on the initiative of the princeps.

addique . . . opinionem, 'and the impression to be conveyed

besides'; cp. *praebere opinionem*, *adferre opinionem*, &c. Probably the decree was so worded as to hint at further honours in contemplation, and the fact that Syria was vacant suggested that this government was meant. *Iubet* is taken strictly with *decerni* and loosely with *addi*.

Atili Rufi. A military diploma shows that T. Atilius Rufus was in A.D. 80 legatus of Pannonia (*CIL*. iii, no. xi).

maioribus, 'men of eminence', not merely consulars, but distinguished consulars. A somewhat parallel use of *minores* occurs in *A*. 15. 16, 6; 20, 1; *H*. 4. 48, 4.

§ 2. **credidere plerique**: placed emphatically at the beginning of the sentence, as in c. 9, 2, and elsewhere.

ministeriis: for *ministris*, as in *A*. 13. 27, 2. So often *servitia*, and other abstracts for concretes.

dabatur, 'was to be offered'. It is to be inferred that an order of recall had been already sent, and that this offer was only to be made in case he seemed disinclined to obey it.

sive . . . sive refers in sense to the whole story, *credidere*, &c. From the wording it is obvious that Tacitus was not told this by Agricola.

ex, 'in accordance with'.

§ 3. **successori**: possibly Sallustius Lucullus, mentioned in Suet. *Dom.* 10 as having been legatus of Britain under Domitian and put to death by him.

celebritate, 'by publicity and a crowd coming to meet him'. Such a reception of an eminent citizen at his homecoming is described in the case of Cn. Piso, *A*. 3. 9, 2–3.

officio, 'the attentions': c. 18, 6, and *A*. 2. 42, 2.

ut praeceptum: probably referring only to *noctu in Palatium*.

brevi osculo, 'a hasty kiss'. So in *A*. 13. 18, 5: cp. *brevi auditu*, *H*. 2. 59, 2. The custom of greeting with a kiss the emperor's more intimate and more distinguished friends appears to have been introduced by Augustus, probably from the East, and checked by Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 34). See Friedlaender, *Sittengesch.* i, p. 161.

inmixtus est might be middle = *se immiscuit* (so Gerber-Greef, *Lex.*), or perhaps better passive, 'was lost amid the courtier crowd'. Peter and Andresen interpret 'was mixed up with the crowd' (by Domitian), i.e. put on the same level, thought no more of than one of them.

§ 4. **grave inter otiosos** = *molestum otiosis*, 'unpopular among civilians', who envied and disliked it. *Otium*, though often the opposite of *labores*, *curae*, in general, is frequently opposed to *bellum*, as in c. 21, 1; and the context seems to indicate that the adjective here means *togati* (as Gerber-Greef understand it). Andresen interpreted *grave* as 'dangerous', because idlers were apt to glorify such a man, and bring him into peril, *inter otiosos* being equivalent to *cum omnes otiosi essent*; cp. c. 32, 4.

hausit, 'took his fill of' (cp. c. 4, 4, and note). No such phrase as *haurire otium* is elsewhere found, but Wölfflin (*Philol.* 26. 153) notes that the metaphor *temperavit* ('blend') is kept up, and that *virtutem haurire* (*H.* 4. 5, 4; Liv. 39. 26, 7) is a near parallel. The MSS. *auxit* yields no satisfactory sense and goes ill with *penitus*; and the converse error *ausit* for *auxit* occurs in *H.* 4. 71, 2.

cultu, 'mode of life': cp. c. 24, 2; *A.* 3. 55, 5, &c.

facilis, 'affable': cp. *A.* 3. 8, 4, and *facilitas*, c. 9, 4.

uno aut altero, 'one or at most two'. Cp. c. 12. 2; 15. 5; *uni alterive*, *G.* 6, 3. The simple abl. with *comitatus* (cp. *A.* 14. 8, 5) follows Cic. *pro Cael.* 14, 34, and poets, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 312.

per ambitionem, 'by their ostentatious display'. Cp. *funerum nulla ambitio* (*G.* 27, 1). *Aestimare* has usually an abl. of the standard (with or without *ex*), to which the construction with *per* (here alone used with it) is in many phrases equivalent. Cp. c. 29, 1; Draeger, § 89.

viso aspectoque: having not merely seen him, but observed his mode of life and demeanour. Cp. c. 45, 2.

quaererent famam, 'asked about his celebrity', asked how he could have won such fame. Not 'sought for his fame', which would be a very obscure way of saying 'sought vainly for its explanation'; nor 'missed his fame' i.e. saw no sign of it, which would seem to require *requirerent*.

interpretarentur, 'understood', 'interpreted rightly' his modest demeanour (supplied from the earlier part of the sentence). *Interpretari* is often practically equivalent to 'understand, appreciate'. It would be natural to supply *famam*, and some editors do so, with the meaning 'understood his fame', i.e. understood that true fame is not inconsistent with simplicity of life. But this seems less good, as the *pauci* are opposed to the *plerique*, the real antithesis being: of those who saw him very many misjudged his modesty, only a few judged it rightly.

CHAPTER XLI

§ **1. eos dies**: those following his return and preceding the winter of A.D. 85 (note on § 2).

absens: repeated for emphasis.

infensus . . . princeps, 'the hostility of the emperor' (cp. *A.* i. *Introd.*, p. 59, § 55). *Virtutibus*, any kind of excellence, as in c. 1, 3.

laudantes, 'panegyrists': cp. *peccantes* (c. 4, 3), &c. Whether they were insidious enemies or indiscreet friends, their praise would be equally pernicious in result.

§ **2. et**, 'and indeed' the times forced his name into notoriety.

rei publicae tempora: the wars spoken of below.

sileri, 'to pass unmentioned'. Cp. *neque te silebo* (Hor. *Od.* 1. 12, 21). The verb is used with accus. of the thing in Cicero.

sinerent, i.e. in spite of his own endeavour.

to texercitus in Moesia, &c. These disasters are enumerated in chronological order. A broken account of the campaigns is to be found in Dio, 67. 7–8 and 10, and allusions in Suet. *Dom.* 6, Statius, Martial, &c. The Dacians, probably in the winter of A.D. 85, invaded Moesia, and defeated and killed the legatus, Oppius Sabinus. Domitian took the field early in 86, and drove them back across the Danube, but returned to Rome by the summer, leaving in command the praetorian prefect Cornelius Fuscus, who in the same year was killed and his army cut to pieces, apparently at Adam-klissi in the Dobrudja, about 3,800 men being killed. After this disaster, probably the greatest since that of Quintilius Varus, two years passed, in the latter of which (A.D. 88) ensued the revolt (*bellum civile*) of Antonius Saturninus on the Rhine, called in some inscriptions *bellum Germanicum* (Dessau, 1006, 2127, 2710). In 88 [Tettius] Iulianus restored Roman prestige by a considerable victory over the Dacians, but in 89 Domitian himself, after suppressing Saturninus and inflicting chastisement on his allies, the Chatti (see on c. 39, 2), attacked the Marcomani and Quadi (German tribes, *Suebi*, in Bohemia and Moravia) from Pannonia for not sending aid against the Dacians, and was defeated by them with the help of their neighbours the Sarmatian Iazyges (Dess. 9200), whereupon he made a discreditable peace with the Dacians (Dio, 67. 7, 2). In A.D. 91/2 the Iazyges, in alliance with the Marcomani and Quadi, invaded Pannonia and annihilated a legion (Suet. *Dom.* 6). Domitian was at the seat of war probably from May, 92, to Jan., 93, and on his return consecrated a laurel without claiming a triumph (Suet. l. c.). This war is called in inscriptions *bellum Suebicum et Sarmaticum* (Dessau, 1017, 2719). The allusions in the text to Moesia and Dacia are explained by the disasters of Sabinus and Fuscus, those to Germany and Pannonia by the disastrous incidents of the Suebo-Sarmatic campaigns.

temeritate aut per ignaviam. For the variation of construction cp. c. 46, 3, &c.

militares viri, 'military men', 'soldiers', as we say: officers are here meant. Cp. *H.* 3. 73, 3; *A.* 4. 42, 2, &c. **expugnati,** implying that they were in possession of forts, is used in several places of persons (*H.* 3. 19, 2; 5. 12, 2, and in Caesar, Livy, &c.), so that the emendation *vici* (J. F. Gronovius) is needless. **tot**, the marginal variant in *E*, seems preferable to *totis*. For the repetition of *tot*, cp. Livy, 25. 24, 12.

nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, &c. 'No longer was it the frontier-line of the empire and river-bank that were imperilled'. The *ripa* is that of the Danube. The *limes imperii* might naturally be taken to mean the Upper German *limes* drawn by Domitian from the borders of Lower Germany (Rheinbrohl) along the Taunus ridge and southwards to the *Agri Decumates* annexed by Vespasian,—a frontier road guarded by a chain of small earth forts, with watch-towers between them, and connected with the legionary

bases by strategical roads, dotted with cohort-*castella* (see Pelham, *Essays*, p. 169 ff., Stuart Jones, *Companion to R. H.*, p. 243 ff.). The *limes* and the *ripa* would thus constitute the Imperial frontier in Europe. (In A.D. 88-9 the *limes* barrier was broken through by the Chatti, who burnt several of the small forts and one at least of the larger, and moved down the valleys of the Lahn and Main to the Rhine.) But the context is against this view. The losses of which Tacitus is speaking were incurred on the middle and lower Danube, and *et ripa* is, therefore, better taken (with Draeger and others) as



FIG. 20. View of the Danube frontier (with auxiliary soldiers patrolling) from the column of Trajan

explanatory of *limite*. The latter term, which in the earlier first century denoted a military road of penetration, protected by forts (*limitem scindere, aperire, agere*), is here passing into its later use of defensive frontier-lines or frontier-line in general. It need not imply the existence of elaborate defences of the type used in Germany, although a characteristic feature of that system, the square stockaded watch-towers with fire-signals, is depicted on Trajan's column in the opening scenes of the first Dacian War, A.D. 101 (fig. 20).

possessione, 'maintenance' of whole provinces. Wex compares Cic. *Acad.* 2. 43. 132 *non de terminis sed de tota possessione contentio.*

§ 3. **continuarentur**, 'followed continuously upon'; so with dat. in *G.* 45. 9 (in local sense), and in Cicero and Livy.

omnis annus, 'every year', as *omnis aetas*, &c.

expertum bellis. Tacitus has this construction elsewhere and also *expertus belli* (*H.* 4. 76. 2).

cum inertia . . aliorum. It is clear that the MSS. *eorum* is wrong, and it is perhaps easiest to suppose *eo*ꝝ to be a misreading of *ao*ꝝ, the abbreviation of *aliorum*: cp. *H.* 3. 3 *unum virum . . spreta aliorum segnitia* (quoted by Andresen). *Aliorum* is used below, but Tacitus is not careful to avoid such repetitions. *Ceterorum* would be more emphatic, but seems less easy palaeographically.

§ **4. auris verberatas:** a figure taken from Plautus (*Amph.* 333, &c.).

dum: best taken as only temporal ('whilst'): cp. *H.* 1. 1, 1; *A.* 13. 3, 1. It has also in Tacitus a causal force ('inasmuch as'), but only with the present.

libertorum, sc. *Caesaris.*

amore et fide, sc. *in Domitianum* and with *malignitate et livore*, sc. *in Agricolam.* The ablatives are causal, and *extimulabant*, 'spurred on' seems sufficiently applicable to the first pair to make it unnecessary to suppose a zeugma, with the sense of 'urged' (*adhortabatur*).

deterioribus: neuter (cp. c. 16, 3), *pronus in* being used when persons are spoken of (*H.* 1. 13, 9, &c.). A similar dative with *facilis* (*A.* 2. 27, 2), *promptus* (*A.* 2. 78, 1), &c., is noted by Andresen.

simul . . . simul: cp. c. 25, 1; c. 36, 1. A similar antithesis occurs in *H.* 4. 34, 5 *non minus vitiis hostium quam virtute suorum fretus. Vitiis* refers to the *malignitas et livor*, not to the *inertia* and *formido* of other generals.

in ipsam gloriam, the very prominence that he anxiously sought to avoid, as leading to ruin. Under an emperor like Domitian *gloria* was a precipice: cp. § 1 above *gloria viri*; c. 40, 3–4; 42, 4 (*famam fatumque*); c. 5, 4. A special mention of the perils accompanying glory might be expected, like *unde gloria egregiis viris et pericula gliscebant* (*A.* 15. 23, 6), but the preceding narrative has emphasized the perils. With Madvig's reading (*ipsa gloria*), *praeceps* would be taken as in *A.* 4. 62, 3; 6. 17, 4; but no change is needed.

CHAPTER XLII

§ **1. quo proconsulatum Africae,** &c. The governorship of Asia and Africa, the most important of the senatorial provinces, was awarded every year to the two senior consulars who had not held either, the lot determining which was to have which. Sometimes one or other was given *extra sortem* (*A.* 3. 32), or a candidate was prohibited by the princeps (*A.* 6. 40, 3), or declined it, as did Salvius Liberalis under Trajan (Dessau, 1011). From a survey of known instances during this period it appears that the turn of Agricola would have fallen about fourteen or fifteen years after his consulship, i. e. about A. D. 91 or 92 (Heberdey, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* viii. 236; *J. R. S.* iii. 308). The reference to Pannonia (c. 41. 2) points to 92.

sortiretur = *sortiri debebat.*

Civica: the Civica Cerealis of Suet. *Dom.* 10. His full name C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis is given in a military *diploma*, which names him as *legatus* of Moesia in A. D. 82 (Dessau, 1995). Suet. states that he was put to death by Domitian during his proconsulate of Asia, which may have been a year or two before the turn of Agricola. He appears to have been the deceased proconsul whose place was taken by C. Minicius Italus, *procurator prov. Asiae quam mandatu principis vice defuncti procos. rexit* (Dessau, 1374).

consilium, 'prudence', 'policy' (shown in his resolve to decline the province), or possibly 'counsel given', i. e. a warning.

exemplum, 'a precedent'. So *vestra exempla* (*A.* 3. 50, 2), &c.

ultro, 'even', 'to go so far as to ask' (without waiting for him to say anything about it). Cp. c. 19, 4, &c.

§ **2. occultius**, 'covertly', opposed to *non obscuri*, 'in plain words'. So *occultus* is used of a person who conceals his thoughts, *H.* 2. 38, 4.

quietem et otium: as in c. 6, 3.

adprobanda, 'commending' (to Domitian): cp. c. 5, 1.

§ **3. paratus simulatione**, 'well-equipped with hypocrisy', i. e. with pretended ignorance of any pressure put upon Agricola. Cp. *instructum his artibus animum paratiorem ad*, &c., *Dial.* 33, 6; *paratum peditatu, equitatu*, &c., Cic. *ad Att.* 9. 13, 4; *sermone paratus*, Suet. *Cl.* 42.

in adrogantiam compositus, 'assuming a majestic air', allowing himself to be entreated to do what he really wished to do. Cp. *in securitatem compositus* (*A.* 3. 44, 4), &c.

excusantis. We should expect the addition of *se* (as in *A.* 3. 35, 2; Dessau, 1011), or of an accus. of the thing pleaded in excuse, or apologized for. The pronoun could very easily have dropped out here. On the other hand, Tacitus often omits it: see on *destinarat*, c. 9, 1, and cp. *Dial.* 5, 1; Cic. *pro Lig.* 7, 21.

agi sibi, &c. Cp. *actae . . . gratiae consuetudine servitii* (*H.* 2. 71, 4); *Seneca, qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum, grates agit* (*A.* 14. 56, 6), and Seneca's anecdotes of others (*de Ira*, 2. 33, 2; *de Tranq.* 14. 4).

nec erubuit, &c., 'did not blush for the odiousness of the concession', for granting as a favour what was really the gratification of his own dislike. The abl. is causal, as in *G.* 28, 5. For a similar sarcasm, cp. *H.* 1. 21, 1 *exilii honorem.*

salarium, &c. This substantive is not found earlier than Seneca and the elder Pliny. Its use dates from the Augustan regulations by which all provincial governors had fixed pay on a scale proportioned to their rank (Dio, 52. 23, 1: 53. 15, 4; *Staatsr.* i. 302; Marquardt, *Staatsv.* i. 558; ii. 108). It is stated in Dio, 78. 22, 5, that in A.D. 217 the salary offered to a proconsul of Africa in lieu of the office was a million sesterces.

proconsulare, conjectured by de la Bléterie, is confirmed by *E*. The objections that *proconsulare* would imply that the salaries of all proconsuls were the same, and leaves *offerri* without a dative, are hardly valid, since (1) the necessary qualification is supplied by the context, and (2) *offerri* is often used without a dative expressed. On the other hand, the dative would be a natural correction, and the superscript *i* probably represents an impossible correction made by the second hand in the original (which is here represented by Guarnieri's transcript). Mommsen's *proconsuli consulari* would be more precise, but its very precision is against it: it is not Tacitean.

offensus: so with accus. and inf. apparently only in Suet. *Aug.* 89; *Tib.* 34; Phaedr. 4. 11, 6. It is analogous to *dolens*, *aegre ferens*.

ex conscientia, 'for very shame'. **quod vetuerat**: by his agents.

§ 4. **proprium humani ingenii**. For similar remarks on human nature, cp. *H.* 1. 55, 1; 2. 20, 2; 38, 1.

odisse quem laeseris. In this sentiment Tacitus seems to have followed Seneca, who says, *pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas irae* (*de Ira*, 3. 29, 2), and *quos laeserunt, et oderunt* (sc. *magna fortuna insolentes*, *ibid.* 2. 33, 1). Cp. also *A.* 1. 33, 2.

vero, pointing the contrast: Domitian would feel this far more than other men. The sense is *inrevocabilior erat*, *ac tamen*. *Praeceps* is so used with *in* in *H.* 1. 24, 2; *praeceps in iram* in Liv. 23. 7, 12.

obscurior, 'more reserved'. So of persons in *A.* 4. 1, 3; 6. 24, 4.

inrevocabilior, a rare word (originally poetical but in prose from the time of Livy), is here alone used by Tacitus, who has elsewhere *implacabilis*.

leniebatur. It is to be noticed that, though Agricola himself received no further distinction during these years, his son-in-law Tacitus was praetor and *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* in A.D. 88, and probably received a province, or possibly a legionary command, about A.D. 90 (see *Introd.*, p. xx).

famam fatumque, 'renown and ruin'. As Andresen observes, the two are so closely joined in idea—the one being regarded as the sure precursor of the other (cp. c. 41, 4, and note), and the connexion being strengthened by the alliteration—that it is hardly necessary to supply such a sense as that of *quaerebat* by zeugma with *famam*.

§ 5. **sciant**, &c. On the significance of this sharp attack on the Stoic Opposition, see *Introd.*, p. xxx.

inlicita, 'forbidden', by the constitutional conditions under which they live. Cp. *inlicitos honores*, *A.* 3. 27, 2.

vigor, especially in a military sense: cp. c. 41, 3; *H.* 1. 87, 4, &c.

eo laudis excedere, 'attain to a height of honour'. *Excedere*

in this sense, though used nowhere else by Tacitus, is common in Valerius Maximus, e.g. *ad clarissimum gloriae lumen excessit* (3. 4. 6; cp. 5. 6, 4, &c.) and is used by the elder Pliny, *excedentia in nubes iuga* (*N. H.* 27. 1, 3).

quo plerique per abrupta. *Per abrupta*, 'by perilous courses', a metaphorical use of the word, which means literally 'steep rocky cliffs' (*A.* 2. 55. 3; 2. 23. 3). Cp. the very similar passage in *A.* 4. 20, 5 *an . . . liceat inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum.*

The MSS. text (which has blundered over the simple *in nullum* &c.) is evidently unsound here. A verb of motion is needed with *quo*, and to supply *excedentes* (which would also perhaps give a wrong sense, see below) or *tendentes* or *iter pergentes*, would be intolerably harsh. The easiest correction is *plerique* ⟨*qui*⟩, suggested by J. Muller (ed. 2, 1906), but it seems improbable that Tacitus meant, even in irony, to put the *laus* of the Stoic extremists on a level with that of the tactful moderates, whose praise is the theme of the *Agricola*. The supplement *enisi* removes all difficulties, and it is not a serious objection that Tacitus does not elsewhere use the word metaphorically. But the simple verb *nisi*, which would fall out rather more easily after *usum*, seems better; cp. *ad munera nitenti* (c. 6, 1), *nitentes* (= *enitentes*) in *H.* 3. 71, and *nitentes per ardua hostes*, Livy, 25. 13. 14.

sed. There is an implied antithesis, as if he had said, *per abrupta ipsis periculosa sed rei publicae inutilia* (cp. *A.* 14. 12, 2).

ambitiosa, 'ostentatious': cp. c. 29, 1, and note.

inclaruerunt: cp. *A.* 12. 37, 4; also in the elder Pliny. Tacitus oftener uses the simple *clarescere*.

CHAPTER XLIII

§ **1. Finis vitae**, &c. In these closing chapters there are many reminiscences of the description of the death of the orator Crassus, in the prooemium of the third book of Cic. *de Oratore*. Here we have an imitation of *fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus* (3. 2, 8).

extraneis, 'outside his circle': so used in contrast to one of the family in *A.* 4. 11, 2. Here it is an intermediate term between *amici* and *ignoti* (complete strangers) (cp. *A.* 2. 71, 6).

vulgus . . . populus. *Et* is probably explanatory. *Vulgus* usually involves the idea of social and intellectual inferiority; *populus* is a more honourable term with a political reference. But the two words are thus grouped as virtually synonymous in *H.* 1. 89, 1; *Dial.* 7, 4 (followed by a singular verb). So *populus* and *plebs* in *H.* 1. 35. 1.

aliud agens: often used in the sense of 'indifferent' or 'heedless'. It would thus answer to the *communium curarum expers populus* of *H.* 1. 89, 1, the *vulgus vacuum curis* of *H.* 2. 90, 2.

circulos, 'social gatherings': cp. *in convviis et circulis*, *A.* 3. 54, 1.

locuti sunt. *Obitum Agricolae* is supplied from the sense, as Andresen notes: *loqui* has the meaning of *in ore habere* in *H.* 1. 50, 3, &c.

oblitus. It is better to treat the repeated *est* of the MSS. as dittography than to alter it to *et* or *set.* Cp. c. 10, 4.

§ 2. **interceptum** (sc. *fuisse*): used with *veneno* in *A.* 3. 12, 7, and often of other kinds of treacherous death. (The correction to *intercepti* in *T* was perhaps due to Crullus, *Introd.*, p. xiv).

nobis nihil comperti ut adfirmare ausim. The MSS. text (omitting *ut*) would mean 'I may venture (I would make bold) to state positively that we have no ascertained evidence'; and this is defended by Andresen, who explains that Tacitus is speaking for the family as well as for himself, and that *adfirmare ausim* anticipates a suspicion that he might be concealing traces of evidence known to the wife and daughter. But Tacitus assuredly had no wish to suppress evidence against Domitian and could not be suspected of such a wish by any one who read his narrative, which at once proceeds to convey suggestions of Domitian's guilt (cp. also c. 44, 5 and 45, 3). The easiest change, perhaps, would be *quod firmare ausim* ($\bar{q}\bar{d}$ for *ad*). *Firmare* is often used by Tacitus for *adfirmare*; but one who has something *compertum*, i.e. *pro certo cognitum*, can certainly 'state it positively'; the expression would imply that there were things known to him for certain which he would not venture positively to assert. It seems best to suppose that *ut* has fallen out after *comperti* (with Wex) or before *ausim* (with Halm). *Nobis* probably means Tacitus himself: the change from plural to singular is common (e.g. *H.* 2. 77, 1; 4. 5, 1). For *nihil comperti*, cp. Cic. *pro Clu.* 47, 131 *nihil cogniti, nihil comperti.* A more natural expression is used by Cic. *ad Fam.* 5. 5, 2 *comperisse me non audeo dicere.* Suetonius does not mention Agricola among Domitian's victims; Dio (66. 20, 3) gives the fact as undoubted (ἐσφάγη).

ceterum: passing on to known facts which might give some support to the rumour.

per omnem valetudinem, 'throughout his illness'. Cp. c. 45, 4.

principatus . . . visentis = *principum . . . visentium.* The point is that princes, who always pay such visits of inquiry through messengers, do not usually pay them so often.

primi . . . intimi. It need not be supposed that the order of these adjectives has got reversed (as might easily happen if both ended a line in the archetype), since we have elsewhere *praecipuos libertorum* (*A.* 6. 38, 2) and *medicus . . . frequens secretis* (*A.* 4. 3, 5).

sive, &c., 'whether that action meant real interest or espionage' (i.e. to see if all was going on as they wished). For *cura* cp. § 1; for *inquisitio* c. 2, 3. *Cura* has been strained to mean 'pretended interest', but Tacitus here, as often, puts the possibility of its reality, thereby securing the appearance of impartiality, while conveying

the impression of its falsity. Compare the account of Piso's messengers during the illness of Germanicus (*A.* 2. 69, 5): *incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.* For the use of *illud*, cp. *A.* 1. 49, 4: 4. 19, 3; and note on c. 21, 3.

§ 3. **momenta**, 'turning points', the stages of his sinking (cp. *brevibus momentis summa verti*, *A.* 5. 4, 2).

cursores: couriers posted at intervals, probably to his Alban villa (c. 45, 1).

constabat and *constat* are uniformly impersonal in Tacitus. The imperfect is adapted to the time of the reports (when Tacitus was away from Rome), as in § 4; c. 38, 2.

nullo credente, 'and none believed that news brought with such dispatch could be unwelcome'.

speciem, &c. *Speciem prae se tulit* must refer to something outward, and it is impossible to take *animo* (with Wex and Kritz) to refer to outward indications other than those of countenance; the more so as *animus* is elsewhere clearly distinguished from *vultus* as the inward feeling from the outward expression, and even sharply opposed to it, as in *laetitiam . . . vultu ferens, animo anxius* (*H.* 2. 65, 1). Of the emendations, *animi vultu* (made by Baehrens and Gudeman) is the simplest, as an assimilation of *animi* to the case of *vultu* (cp. note on c. 34, 3: *beatis* for *beatus*, c. 44. 4; *versis* for *versi*, c. 37. 5) would cause the insertion of the conjunction, and Gudeman well supports the reading from Cicero, *Verr.* I. 8, 21 (*animi dolorem vultu tegere*), and still better from Curt. 6. 9. 1 (*vultu praeferens dolorem animi*). The corrections *habitu vultuque* or *sermone vultuque* (Mohr) are both Tacitean expressions, but involve wider departure from the MSS. reading.

securus . . . odii, 'relieved from hatred', no longer troubled by it. Cp. the use of the adjective with *casuum* (*H.* 1. 86. 2), &c., and with the genitive in Virgil and Horace.

et qui, 'and being such as to': cp. c. 30, 6, and *et cui . . . placerent*, *H.* 2. 25, 2.

§ 4. **coheredem . . . Domitianum scripsit**. It became a common practice under bad emperors thus to sacrifice a part of the property to save the rest for the relatives. Gaius exacted a share (Suet. *Cal.* 38), and some famous instances are given under Nero in which testators made, or were recommended to make, the emperor joint heir (*A.* 14. 31, 1; 16. 11, 2). Tiberius refused such legacies (*A.* 2. 48, 2), as Domitian did at first (Suet. *Dom.* 9), though afterwards he seized them eagerly (id. 21), so that Pliny speaks of him as *unus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus, heres* (*Pan.* 43, 1).

piissimae. This superlative, condemned by Cicero when used by Antonius (*Phil.* 13. 19, 43), is frequent in and after Seneca.

honore iudicioque, best taken as a hendiadys for *honore iudicii*, as in *pecuniam legavit ut ius dotis honore iudicii augeretur* (Dessau. 8394). *Iudicium* is common in the sense of a favourable judgement

expressed in a will (e.g. Plin. *ad Trai.* 94, 2) and hence of the will itself. Andresen, taking it of favourable opinion in general, distinguished *honor* and *iudicium* as act and thought, 'the mark of respect and the compliment implied in it'.

CHAPTER XLIV

§ 1. **Natus erat**, &c. The date of Agricola's birth was June 13, A.D. 40, which suits that of his praetorship (c. 6, 4 note and App. I) and is quite reconcilable with that of his father's death (note on c. 4, 1). Gaius was consul for the third time during the first fortnight of January, A.D. 40, and he was sole consul, his designated colleague having died before January 1 (Suet. *Cal.* 17). There is no reason to suspect the number *ter*, as given by the MSS. (cp. Mommsen, *Staatsr.* i. 575 n.). Normal Latin would say *tertium*, which is doubtless what Tacitus wrote. *Ter consul* strictly means 'one who has been consul three times', and though Martial says *bis* (for *iterum*) *consule* (10. 48, 20), the MSS. *ter* is no doubt merely an expansion of *iii*. Gellius, as Mr. F. W. Hall points out, devotes a whole chapter (10. 1) to discussing whether *tertium* or *tertio consul* is correct Latin for 'consul for the third time'; but, as he does not mention *ter* as a possibility, it was evidently not a prose construction.

The date of his death was August 23, A.D. 93. *Sexto* of the MSS. should therefore be *quarto*, the error being due to a misreading of *iv* as *vi*. Cp. c. 33, 2, where *vii* was misread as *viii*. In some cases errors of chronology appear to be due to Tacitus himself (e.g. *A.* 14. 64, 1), but he would not err here.

decimum kalendas. Tacitus often omits *ante* in such expressions: see *A.* 6. 25, 5, and note.

Collega Priscinoque. *Prisco* is a mistake of Tacitus' copyists (not his own). A military diploma found in Egypt in 1909 gives the names of the ordinary consuls of A.D. 93 as Sex. Pompeius Collega and Q. Peducaeus Priscinus (Dessau, 9059). The former was apparently son of Cn. Pompeius Collega, who was consular legatus of Galatia-Cappadocia in A.D. 75-6 (*Prosopogr.* s.v.), and is mentioned by Pliny, *Ep.* 2. 11, 20 ff.

§ 2. **habitum**, 'personal appearance' (cp. c. 11, 1 and note).

decentior quam sublimior, 'handsome rather than imposing'. *Decens* is an epithet of Venus and the Graces in Horace, *pulcher ac decens* are coupled in Suet. *Dom.* 18, and *decentior* serves also as comparative of *decorus*.

nihil impetus 'nothing passionate', 'impetuous', 'vehement'. *Impetus* makes far better sense than *metus*, the marginal variant, which can mean something causing fear (or to be feared), but is generally used of alarming circumstances, chiefly takes this meaning from the context, and would be here very ambiguous. Like many of the marginal readings, it seems to be conjectural.

gratia oris supererat. 'He had a very winning expression' ('kindliness of expression was abundant'). *Superesse* has this

meaning in c. 45, 6; *G.* 6, 1; 26, 2; *H.* 1. 51, 3, &c. Others take it here to mean 'prevailed', a sense which seems to occur only in *A.* 3. 47, 1.

bonum, &c., 'you would readily have believed him to be a good, and gladly to be a great, man': 'gladly', because of his placid face and winning expression.

§ **3. ipse**, 'he himself', as distinct from his *habitus*. Cp. *ipsi Britanni*, c. 13. 1.

medio in spatio integrae aetatis, 'in mid career of his prime', in the midst of the career of public activity which a man pursues in his prime of life (= *in medio rerum gerendarum cursu, quem decurrere solet integra aetas*). Cp. Plautus, *Stichus*, 81 *decurso aetatis spatio*, but here *aetas* is qualified by *integra*. The same phrase, *medio in spatio*, is used of life's career by Cicero, *de Orat.* 3. 2, 7, a passage of which there are many reminiscences in these closing chapters. *Integra aetas* is used of Tiberius at a considerably less advanced age (Suet. *Tib.* 10), *integra iuventa* of Agrippina at about thirty-three (*A.* 12. 2, 3).

quantum ad, 'as far as concerned', = *quantum attinet ad*. So used *G.* 21, 3; *H.* 5. 10, 3.

quippe, &c. The thought is as follows. 'Agricola's glory was as complete as if he had lived the longest life. For he had realized to the full the only true blessings (see note below), and as for fortune's gifts, he was a consular and *triumphalis*. What else could fortune add? Wealth he had—not excessive riches, but a handsome fortune. And he was happy, too, in that he died neither childless nor a widower, without loss of position or reputation or relatives and friends, and dying escaped the evil to come'. Gudeman's transposition of *opibus . . . non contigerant* to follow *peregit* is plainly wrong. His arguments are not cogent and difficulties are created, as may be gathered from what is said below.

vera bona, according to the Stoic creed, are defined in *H.* 4. 5, 3: 'virtue is the only good, nothing is evil but what is base; power, rank, and all other things outside the mind (i. e. *bona fortunae*, *bona externa*) are neither good nor evil'. Tacitus naturally begins with the highest good (cp. *filia*, &c., below): Gudeman's transposition would make him begin with wealth.

impleverat, 'realized to the full', as in *H.* 1. 16, 9 *impletum est omne consilium*; Plin. *Ep.* 2. 1, 2 *summum fastigium privati hominis impleret*.

adstruere, 'to add': cp. *tamquam nobilitatem adstruerent*, *H.* 1. 78, 3. This sense, found also in Velleius and in the elder and younger Pliny, seems to occur first in Ov. *A. A.* 2. 119, *animum . . . adstrue formae*.

§ **4. opibus**, &c.: specifies another aspect of Agricola's *felicitas* in life, answering the rhetorical question *quid aliud?* For, as Aristotle said, material prosperity is an essential condition of complete *εὐδαιμονία*. Tacitus then passes on to his *felicitas* in death.

speciosae contigerant. It seems necessary to omit *non* with the marginal variant and regard it as wrongly repeated from the previous clause. *Speciosae* need not mean more than 'handsome': it is a relative term, admitting of qualification (e.g. *admodum speciosa*, *Vell.* 2. 59, 2) and here contrasted with *nimiis*. Dio's statement that Agricola ended his life in poverty (66. 20, 3) is on the same level as his assertion that he was put to death by Domitian; there is no other evidence in support of it. He was indeed honest in money matters (c. 9, 4) and was not given the proconsular salary (c. 42, 3), but his father's property was certainly not confiscated (c. 7, 2), though part of it was looted together with his mother's estate. If *non* before *contigerant* is retained, the contrast is weak and irrelevant, the logical connexion with *non gaudebat* is lost, and the actual fact about Agricola's means is left to be inferred.

filia . . . superstitibus. There is no punctuation in *E*, which begins a new sentence after *gaudebat*. The later MSS. (*A* and *B*) put a stop after *superstitibus*, which is impossible. Needless difficulties have been found in taking the words with *potest*, &c., e. g. that if he was happy in escaping coming ills, he was not so in leaving his wife and daughter to face them (which might have some force, but for the fact that the wife and daughter were not politically dangerous), or that he would have been equally happy, if wife and child had not survived him (which was not the ancient sentiment). The words mean simply that it was an element in Agricola's happiness that he did not outlive those who were dearest to him. The sentence is compressed in Tacitus' manner: he was blest by fortune in that (1) he died with his position and surroundings unimpaired, and (2) he escaped the evil days to come. *Filia . . . superstitibus* might have been expected to follow *beatus*, on which stress is laid (as e.g. on *tristis* in c. 43, 3), but the position gives the words a special emphasis corresponding to the store which Agricola set on this element of his happiness and to the ancient sentiment, frequently expressed in epitaphs, that it was a misfortune to outlive children and spouse, and receive the last rites from alien hands. In death, as in life, Agricola was *felix*.

(Gudeman's attachment of *filia . . . superstitibus* to *poterat* is clearly impossible: a man has no *superstites* while he is alive and enjoying the goods of fortune.)

dignitate: so used for *dignitate senatoria* in *A*. 3. 17, 8.

adfinitatibus et amicitiis, abstract for concrete, cp. c. 40, 2, &c.; here for the sake of symmetry.

§ **5. nam sicut ei non licuit.** Here there is clearly an antithesis (as in *Dial.* 11, 2, *H.* 5. 7, 3, &c.), between *sicut* and *ita*, as oftener between *ut* and *ita*: cp. c. 6, 4. As on the one hand he missed a great happiness, so on the other he escaped great misery. The attempt of Boetticher and others to explain the manuscript text by supposing such an unprecedented ellipse as that of supplying *solacium tulisset* from *solacium tulit* may be dismissed. To omit

or bracket *quod* or to alter it to *quodam* or *quondam* does not help, for *ominabatur durare* can hardly stand for *ominabatur se duraturum*. And even the latter would be wrong. What Agricola could be said *ominari* was that Trajan would be emperor, not that he would live to see him such. It is necessary to suppose a lacuna, which is best filled by Dahl's *sicut ei* (or *sicuti*) *non licuit*, the similarity of *sicut* and *licuit* explaining the loss.

durare. So with *ad* in *Dial.* 17. 7; *A.* 3. 16, 2.

quod, &c., 'an event which he used to presage by prophecy and prayer, i.e. to foretell and long for'. Some such sense as that of *optabat* is supplied with *votis*. Cp. *si quid veri mens augurat, opto*, Virg. *Aen.* 7. 273. Trajan early attracted notice: he had inherited considerable fame from his father, who was a distinguished *legatus legionis* in the Jewish war (Jos. *B. I.* 3. 7. 31), must have become consul soon after, gained *triumphalia* as legatus of Syria in A. D. 76-7, was afterwards proconsul of Asia, and is spoken of as dead in Plin. *Pan.* 89. Trajan himself had earned distinction by moving his troops rapidly from Spain to assist in the suppression of Antonius Saturninus in A. D. 89 (c. 39, 2; 41, 2, notes), and became consul in A. D. 91 (two years before Agricola's death). Presages of him at this time, deriving their force *ex eventu*, are mentioned in Plin. *Pan.* 5; Dio, 67. 12, 1. The forecast mentioned in this section would presumably have been made before A. D. 89-90, when Tacitus left Rome for a provincial appointment (c. 45, 5).

apud . . . auris: personification, as in many places: cp. *A.* 1. 31, 5. By *nostras* Tacitus probably means his own.

festinatae. The word seems to suggest foul play: cp. *A.* 1. 6, 4; 4. 28, 2, &c. The transitive use of the verb follows poets and Sallust.

solacium tulit. The use of the phrase in *A.* 4. 66, 1 (cp. *dolorem tulit*, *A.* 2. 84, 3) for the classical *solacium adferre* (Cic. *Lael.* 27, 104) would suggest that *nobis* should be supplied here, the subject of the verb being (*eum*) *evasisse*. But the balance of the sentence is in favour of taking *tulit* (with Andresen) as = *accepit*, sc. *Agricola*, and *solacium* as 'compensation' (c. 6, 3), both Tacitean uses. The context also (*beatus . . . futura effugisse*) requires that Agricola should be the subject of the verb.

spiramenta, 'breathing spaces', i. e. 'pauses' (so used apparently only here and in Ammianus), rhetorically synonymous with *intervalla*. For the use of *per* see on c. 29, 1.

continuo, probably an adjective, as everywhere else in Tacitus.

uno ictu: a figure perhaps suggested by the famous wish of Gaius (Sen. *de Ira*, 3. 19, 2), *ut populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet, ut scelera sua . . . in unum ictum . . . cogeret*.

exhausit, 'drained of its blood': cp. *caedibus exhaustos*, *A.* 12. 10, 2; and *Italiam . . . hauriri*, *A.* 13. 42. 7.

CHAPTER XLV

§ 1. **Non vidit**, &c., imitated from Cic. on L. Crassus (*de Orat.* 3. 2, 8), *non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiae, non exilium generi*, &c., a passage also apparently imitated in Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* 20, 5.

obsessam curiam. The act of Nero at the trial of Thrasea (*A.* 16. 27, 1) seems to have been repeated by Domitian. For the combination *non . . . et . . . et*, cp. Draeger, § 107. The ideas are all grouped closely.

eadem strage: so in the denunciation of Regulus in *H.* 4. 42, 5 *cum . . . innoxios pueros, inlustris senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneres.*

consularium. Twelve names, most of them certainly those of consulars, are to be gathered from Suet. *Dom.* 10, 11, 15.

feminarum exilia: cp. *H.* 1. 3, 2. Pliny tells us of Gratilla, perhaps wife of Arulenus Rusticus (c. 2, 1), Arria, widow of Thrasea, and her daughter Fannia, wife of Helvidius (*Ep.* 3. 11, 6; cp. 7. 19, 4: 9. 13. 5).

exilia et fugas: possibly synonyms, or more probably the latter is a more general term, covering *relegatio* or other less severe forms of banishment.

Carus Mettius: the famous *delator*, the accuser of Senecio (see on c. 2, 1), of Fannia (Plin. *Ep.* 7. 19, 5,) and of many others. See Plin. *Ep.* 1. 5, 3; 7. 27, 14; Mart. 12. 25, 5; Juv. 1, 36 (where the Scholiast gives some further particulars). This *una victoria* cannot be identified.

censebatur, 'was estimated', 'appraised', a post-Augustan use. The abl. is that of value; as yet his power was counted by one victory only.

arcem. Domitian's Alban villa is so called in Juv. 4, 145, and it is called an ἀκρόπολις in Dio, 67. 1, 2. *Intra* is emphatic; his voice was not yet heard beyond it, not in the senate.

Messalini: L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, ordinary consul with Domitian in A.D. 73, a famous blind accuser, eloquently described in Plin. *Ep.* 4. 22, 5, and in Juv. 4, 113–122, who calls him *mortifer*, and *grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum.* He died apparently before Domitian (Pliny, l. c.).

Massa Baebius: mentioned in A. D. 70, as then a procurator of Africa, *iam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus, et inter causas malorum, quae mox tulimus, saepius rediturus* (*H.* 4. 50, 3). The Schol. on Juv. 1, 35, makes him, as also Carus and Latinus, to have been among the freedmen buffoons of Nero's court.

iam tum reus. In A. D. 93 Pliny was deputed by the senate, with Senecio, to prosecute him for misconduct as proconsul of Hispania Baetica, and gives an account of the proceedings to Tacitus for insertion in the *Histories* (*Ep.* 7. 33; cp. also 3. 4, 4;

6. 29, 8). He was condemned and his property was confiscated, but he turned upon Senecio with a charge of *impietas*. This passage shows that he was on trial at the time of Agricola's death, and that it was believed that he would be crushed, but that later he became formidable again. *Etiam tum* (*E*) seems to be impossible, since it always bears the sense of 'still (as before)', as in *etiam tum Britanniam obtinebat* (c. 39, 4). *Iam tum*, the reading of *A*, has no more authority than an editor's conjecture, but seems to give a suitable sense: 'at the very time' (when Agricola was dying) Massa was on trial; his pernicious activities were suspended and apparently at an end, and Agricola did not live to see their revival during the Terror. Cp. *A.* 2. 36, 1 *ut legionum legati . . . iam tum praetores destinarentur* (i.e. *cum legati facti essent*). The simple *tum*, read by *E*, is probably due to an accidental omission of *iam*, as this MS. often drops words. To read *tum* is to leave the reading of *E* unexplained.

nostrae: those of senators. Tacitus treats as the act of the whole order, including himself (cp. *Introd.*, p. xxxii), what may have been that of one person only: Publicius Certus was especially noted for having laid hands on Helvidius, and was attacked by Pliny after the death of Domitian (see *Ep.* 9. 13). He says *nullum scelus atrocius videbatur quam quod in senatu senator senatori, praetorius consulari, reo iudex manus intulisset* (§ 2).

Helvidium: son of the Helvidius of c. 2, 1, and stepson of Fannia (Plin. *Ep.* 9. 13, 3). He was indicted for a supposed allusion to Domitian in a tragedy written by him and was put to death (Suet. *Dom.* 10). Pliny mentions his wife Anteia, and wrote a treatise in vindication of him (*Ep.* 7. 30, 4; 9. 13, 1).

Maurici Rusticique. On the death of Arulenus Rusticus, brother of Mauricus, see on c. 2, 1. Junius Mauricus was banished and recalled by Nerva. He is mentioned in A. D. 70 as asking for the publication of the *commentarii principum* (*H.* 4. 40, 6). His intimate friend Pliny speaks of his relegation (3. 11, 3), and of his high character (4. 22, 3), and addresses some letters to him.

visus foedavit. A verb seems to have dropped out, with the sense of *foedavit* (of which Tacitus is fond) or *maculavit* or *dehonestavit*. *Visus*, 'gazing on' (cp. *Ann.* 15. 15, 5 *visu fugientium . . . abstinuit*) appears to be genuine: hands, eyes, bodies have been dishonoured; and the misery of looking on at the enactment of these tragedies in Domitian's presence is the theme of the following sentence. To suppose a zeugma and supply the sense of *dehonestavit* from *perfudit* would ascribe to Tacitus an intolerable harshness of expression exceeding anything even in the *Agricola*; nor would the harshness be removed by inserting *horrore* or *pavore* (in themselves unsuitable, since the point is not the senators' horror, but their dishonour) or *pudore*, on the analogy of Livy's *pudore et gaudio perfusus* (26. 50, 9). The last would still leave a harsh double use of *perfudit*, not paralleled by Pliny's *lacrimis . . . ac . . .*

pudore suffunditur (*Pan.* 2, 8), and, as Furneaux noted, there would be no reason—indeed, it would be absurd—thus to contrast Rusticus with Senecio; for both were put to death and *sanguine perfudit* would be equally true (rhetorically) of both. The marginal reading *Mauricum* . . . *divisimus*, 'parted (the brothers) M. and R.', cp. *H.* 4, 14 *fratres a fratribus dividantur* and Ovid, *Trist.* 1. 3, 73, seems clearly to be (as Halm thought) a very unhappy conjecture, giving an insipid and unsuitable meaning in this context.

§ **2. Nero tamen**, i.e. cruel though he was, yet he refrained from beholding the outrages he commanded. Nero was not present at the trial of Thrasea and Soranus (*A.* 16. 27, 2).

videre et aspici: cp. c. 40, 4. So *viderent modo* . . . *et aspicerentur*, *A.* 3. 45, 2.

subscriberentur, 'were noted down', to be laid to our charge. Cp. *Pinarium* . . . *cum contionante se* . . . *subscribere quaedam animadvertisset*, Suet. *Aug.* 27; also id., *Cal.* 29; Quint. 12. 8, 8. Elsewhere the word is often used of signing an accusation (cp. *A.* 1. 74, 1). Persons were accused *ob lacrimas* under Tiberius (*A.* 6. 10, 1).

cum denotandis . . . **sufficeret**, &c., 'when that savage face, crimsoned with the flush by which he made himself proof against all token of shame, marked out without wincing (lit. 'was equal to marking out', sc. to his agents) so many pale cheeks'. *Sufficeret* is generally translated 'was enough to': a look was sufficient to mark them out to informers to note. But *sufficere* with the dative of a gerundive or of a noun with active sense (*labori*, *obsequio*, *bello*, &c.) means 'to be equal to' and this interpretation seems to fit better both *tot* and *pudorem*. For the use of *denotare*, cp. *denotantibus vobis ora ac metum* (*A.* 3. 53, 1); *notat et designat oculis ad caedem* (Cic. *Cat.* 1. 1, 2).

tot hominum palloribus. This abstract plural (cp. Lucr. 4. 336) is used rhetorically for 'pale faces', faces which by their paleness betrayed sympathy. Müller's explanation that the expression is condensed for *ad incutiendos pallores qui denotarentur* does violence to the Latin.

rubor. Domitian's countenance was naturally flushed (Suet. *Dom.* 18). In his youth, before his character was known, says Tacitus, his frequent blush was taken as a sign of modesty (*H.* 4. 40, 1). Here his natural complexion is rhetorically said to have been used as a screen against shame, because it prevented him from betraying shame. Pliny speaks like Tacitus, *superbia in fronte*, *ira in oculis*, *femineus pallor in corpore*, *in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa* (*Pan.* 48).

§ **3. Tu vero**, &c.: again a reminiscence of Cic. *de Or.* 3. 3, 12 *ego vero te*, *Crasse*, *cum vitae flore tum mortis opportunitate divino consilio et ornatum et extinctum esse arbitror.*

constans et libens, 'bravely and cheerfully'.

fatum : normally used of natural, in contrast to violent, death (as in *A.* 2. 42, 5 : 71, 2 : 6. 10, 3 *fato obiit*), though in c. 42, 4 with the latter meaning. Here it makes against the suspicion of poison, and it may (as Andresen suggests) have been the term used by Agricola himself for his illness.

tamquam expresses the judgement of those who heard his words.

pro virili portione, also in *H.* 3. 20, 2, for the more usual *pro virili parte*, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέρος, 'as far as a man could'.

innocentiam . . . donares, 'you would make him a present of acquittal', dispel the suspicion of foul play by speaking of your illness as natural. He seems to imply that the present was undeserved, and this is the impression conveyed by his whole narrative.

§ **4. adsidere valetudini**, 'to watch your illness', for *aegrotanti*.

satiari : cp. c. 39, 4.

excepissemus, 'we should have caught up'. Cp. *A.* 6. 24, 2, and *excepta vox*, *H.* 3. 32, 6.

figeremus = *infigeremus*. So *figi humo*, *A.* 1. 65, 7. Otherwise such an abl. is poetical.

§ **5. noster . . . nostrum**, emphatic 'our special'.

condicione: causal abl., 'owing to the circumstance' (cp. *praesens condicio*, *A.* 14. 55, 4). *Absentiae* is a defining genitive.

ante quadriennium, for *quadriennio ante*. Cp. *ante aliquot dies*, Nep. *Dat.* 11. On the absence of Tacitus, who held some provincial appointment from A. D. 89/90 to 93, see *Introd.*, p. xx.

amissus est : *es* should not be read, as the apostrophe is dropped after *donares* (cp. *filiae eius*) and resumed in *optime parentum*.

§ **6. superfuere**, 'were in abundance', see on c. 44, 2. The presence of his wife ensured all outward marks of respect: but there was still an unsatisfied longing for others dear to him. Andresen notes the use of *aliquid* to express the vague longing of a dying man.

comploratus. The marginal variant *compositus* is not so well suited to *lacrimis*, though it is used in *H.* 1. 47, 4.

CHAPTER XLVI

This fine epilogue is largely woven out of rhetorical commonplaces (Gudeman, *Class. Rev.* xiii. 216), but Tacitus has breathed into them wonderful freshness and depth of feeling.

§ **1. Si quis**, &c. The general subject of Roman belief respecting immortality is very fully treated in Friedlaender, *Sittengesch.* iv, ch. iv. Such a belief, though not an essential tenet of Stoicism, was held in some form by most Stoics (cp. *A.* 16. 34, 2 : 35, 3), and founded on Platonism. The doctrine of an immortality of the great and good only, which had been held by Chrysippus, is

here somewhat hesitatingly acquiesced in by Tacitus. Cicero had adopted it in the *Somnium Scipionis*: cp. also *pro Sest.* 68, 143.

nosque domum. *Et* has been added by some editors, on the ground that Tacitus could not belong to the *domus* of Agricola; and *-que et* is a favourite combination of Tacitus, especially when a pronoun precedes, as in c. 18, 5. But Tacitus ranks himself as a member of the family in c. 45, 4 and 6. Agricola's wife would be the sole representative of his *domus*, strictly understood.

muliebribus. Cp. the sentiment ascribed to the Germans *feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse* (*G.* 27, 2) and the injunction of Seneca to his wife (*A.* 15. 62, 1), of Germanicus to his friends (*A.* 2. 71, 5), and of L. Marcius to his soldiers (Liv. 25. 38, 8).

quas . . . fas est. The removal of such virtues to a higher sphere is an event for which we must neither feel nor manifest sorrow. Gudeman suggests that *fas est* is used, in place of *licet* or the like, because of the ancient belief that excessive lamentation disturbed the peace of the dead: Vollmer on Statius, *Silv.* 2. 6, 93; Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 206, 2.

§ **2. et immortalibus.** The manuscript text has been defended (as by Brotier) by making Tacitus speak despondingly of the short-lived character of any kind of laudation; but this is contrary to the general spirit of the passage, and *temporalis* is not used elsewhere by Tacitus, though it is found in Seneca. *Temporalibus* is probably a corruption of *et immortalibus*. It need not be supposed that Tacitus is speaking arrogantly of his own work (of which he speaks with becoming confidence below), as *immortalis* may be taken to mean 'lifelong', and may refer generally to the laudation of friends and contemporaries. Cp. *immortales . . . gratias agam, dum vivam* (Plancus in Cic. *ad Fam.* 10. 11, 1); *immortali memoria . . . retinebat beneficia* (Nep. *Att.* 11. 5); and the use of *aeternus* for 'lifelong' in *A.* 14. 55, 5; 15. 63, 1.

suppeditet, 'suffices', as in *H.* 1. 1, 5.

similitudine colamus is a very probable correction of *militum decoramus.* The corruption seems to have arisen from the loss of *si-* (after *si . . . su-*) and a copyist's transpositon of *d* and *n*, producing *(si)militunidecolamus*, which was then 'corrected' to *militum decoramus*. Cp. *Nomam* for *Monam* in *B* (c. 14, 4; 18, 4), *altera* for *latera* (c. 35, 4). Of this type of error a variety of examples is given by Housman, *Manilius*, i, p. liv ff.; cp. F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, p. 176. The correction is supported against Heinsius' *aemulatu* by *si natura suppeditet.* To achieve a resemblance to a great man's character requires such a condition; mere *aemulatus* or *imitatio* would less appropriately be said to do so. *Decoremus* is suggested by Ennius' famous line *nemo me lacrumis decoret nec funera fletu faxit*, but *colamus* is far better suited to the simple pathos of this passage; cp. the quotation from Statius below.

§ **3. id**: explained by the infinitive following, as in c. 39, 3. From

the fact that only Agricola's daughter and wife are mentioned (cp. cc. 44, 45) it appears that Tacitus had no children of his own in A. D. 98.

revolvant, 'ponder over'; so (without *in animo* or a pronoun), in *A.* 3. 18, 6; 4. 21, 2. This use appears in Virgil and Ovid, but apparently in no earlier prose than Tacitus.

formamque ac figuram, 'the form and fashion', rhetorical synonyms, thus coupled in Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 16, 37: *de Or.* 3. 45, 179; Plin. *Pan.* 55.

corporis . . . imaginibus. For this custom, cp. Plin. *Ep.* 2. 1, 12 *Verginium iam vanis imaginibus . . . audio, adloquor, teneo* (= *complector* in Tacitus), and Stat. *Silv.* 2. 7, 124 ff.:

> *Haec* (Lucan's widow) *te non . . .*
> *falsi numinis induit figura,*
> *ipsum sed colit et frequentat ipsum*
> *imis altius insitum medullis*
> *ac solacia vana subministrat*
> *vultus, qui simili notatus auro*
> *stratis praenitet,*

where *falsi numinis* alludes to the common practice of representing the dead in the form of a divinity (cp. Suet. *Cal.* 7).

complectantur, 'cling to', 'cherish' (sc. *animo*; cp. *amplexus*, c. 25, 1, with a different sense).

non quia, &c., 'not that I would forbid', subjunctive of rejected reason. For Tacitus' use of *non quia* with indic. and subj., cp. Nipperdey on *A.* 13. 1, 1 (Furneaux *ad loc.*).

forma mentis, cp. *forma animi* above. Here it seems to be used almost in a Platonic sense.

quam tenere, &c., 'which you can preserve and reproduce not by the material and artistic skill of another, but only in your own character'. For *per*, cp. notes on c. 3, 2; 29. 1.

§ 4. **ex**, 'belonging to': we should say 'in'. The genitive is used by Seneca, *Suas.* 2, 6 (quoted by Heraeus): *nihil prius illorum imitabor quam fugam?*

mansurumque est, 'and is destined to abide', stronger than *manebit*. On Tacitus' fondness for the future participle, especially *mansurus*, cp. Gudeman on *Dial.* 9, 9 (4).

in animis, &c., 'in the hearts of men through the endless course of ages, by the glory of his achievements (thanks to the fame of his exploits)'. *Fama rerum* has this sense in *H.* 4. 39, 3 *claros rerum fama*, and Liv. 25. 38, 8 *vivunt vigentque fama rerum gestarum*. It can hardly be taken to mean 'history', though the fact that his fame will be on record is implied and expressly stated in what follows. Halm's *in fama* is neither acceptable nor necessary. *Fama rerum* is instr. or causal ablative, and the meaning is made clear by the next clause. The first *in* is local, the second temporal: *in aetern. temporum* = *in aeternum* or *aeternum* (*A.* 3. 26, 3; 12.

28, 2). The double use of *in*, followed by an abl., is somewhat inelegant, but the meaning seems clear, though editors have been much perplexed. (This interpretation has also been given by P. Ercole in *Riv. di fil.* 46 (1918), p. 119.)

nam, &c., explains the preceding statement: Agricola's glory will not be forgotten, because his achievements are placed on record. The threefold alliteration is noteworthy.

obruit. The perfect tense is required by *veterum*; Tacitus does not mean that many of the heroes of old *will be* forgotten, but that they are already forgotten, *carent quia vate sacro*. It would be manifestly absurd to prophesy that they would be forgotten in the future, while Agricola would be remembered, seeing that the fact that they were still remembered gave them a far better chance of not being forgotten than a man just dead could possibly have.

The sentiment resembles that of Hor. *Od.* 4. 9, 25–28. Tacitus ends on the same note with which he began, *clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere*. And the fact is that without this book Agricola's name would have been known to us only from a brief and mostly inaccurate mention in two places of Dio (39. 50, 4 and 66. 20, 1–2) and from an inscription of A. D. 79 on a piece of leaden water-pipe found at Chester in Oct. 1899 (fig. 21): *Imp(eratore) Vesp(asiano) viii T(ito) imp(eratore) vii co(n)s(ulibus), Cn. Iulio Agricola leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*. See Dessau, 8704[a]; *Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1039. No other instance is known of a governor's name inscribed on a piece of pipe.

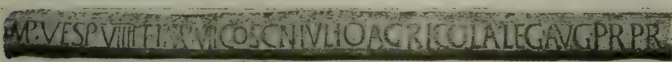


FIG. 21. Inscribed leaden water-pipe, found in Eastgate Street, Chester, and now in the Grosvenor Museum. (From a photograph by Mr. R. Newstead.)

APPENDICES

I. THE CHRONOLOGY OF AGRICOLA'S CAREER

THE chronology of Agricola's life was worked out by Urlichs,[1] and in general correctly. The only important date about which there is still some uncertainty is the year when he arrived in Britain as governor.[2] He was born on June 13, A. D. 40, his father being apparently still alive.[3] It is clear from c. 6, 4 that he was praetor in A. D. 68, the last year of Nero's reign. His tribunate, therefore, would normally fall in 66 and his quaestorship in 64, one year's interval being required between the tenure of those various offices. As quaestor he served under the proconsul of Asia, Salvius Titianus, and that fact, combined with the evidence about Titianus, fixes 64 as the year of Agricola's quaestorship and July 63–July 64 as the date of Titianus' proconsulate.[4] It should be noted, as an indication of the panegyrical character of the narrative, that Tacitus suppresses the fact that during his last six months as quaestor Agricola had as his chief the upright L. Antistius Vetus:[5] he will not spoil the contrast between the good Agricola and the bad Titianus.

Agricola thus held the quaestorship during his twenty-fourth year, one year before the normal age, and the praetorship in his twenty-eighth year, two years before the usual time. The explanation is to be found in the provisions of the *Lex Papia Poppaea*, which granted candidates the remission of one year for each child born to them.[6] Agricola had a son, born in 63 or late in 62, who lived long enough to secure the father the privilege of the law (c. 6, 3): and the birth of a daughter (afterwards the wife of Tacitus) in 64 secured him the remission of another year. He thus gained two

[1] *De vita et honoribus Agricolae*, 1868.

[2] A preliminary review of the problem in *Class. Rev.* 34 (1920), p. 158 ff., elicited some helpful observations from Professor H. Dessau and an exhaustive study by Professor R. K. McElderry (*J. R. S.* x, p. 68 ff.), with whom I have also had some correspondence on the questions involved. Careful consideration of their arguments as a whole has brought me more nearly to their view.

[3] Note on c. 4, 1.

[4] Waddington, *Fastes*, no. 91.

[5] Waddington, no. 92.

[6] Digest, 4. 4. 2: Mommsen, *Gesamm. Schr.* iv, p. 414, *Staatsr.* i, p. 575.

years in all, notwithstanding the fact that the son had died meantime.

In A.D. 70 he was appointed to command the xxth Legion, stationed at Chester, and he returned to Rome either in 73 or, with his chief Cerialis, before May 74. On his return he was elevated to the patriciate and was then [1] appointed governor of Aquitania, a post which he held less than three years. During his governorship he was designated consul and held the office in 77.

Here the uncertainties begin. Agricola was *consul suffectus*, the ordinary consuls being Vespasian and Titus, the latter of whom retired very soon in favour of his brother Domitian. The trouble is that there is no evidence as to the date when he assumed the office and the number of months for which he held it. 'During his consulship', says Tacitus, 'Agricola betrothed his daughter to me, and after it he gave her in marriage and was immediately (*statim*) appointed to Britain' (c. 9, 7). He then proceeds to describe the island and its conquest, and announces Agricola's arrival in the words: *Hunc Britanniae statum . . . media iam aestate transgressus . . . invenit, cum . . . milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem . . . verterentur* (c. 18, 1). He arrived, therefore, late in the season, and his lateness is most easily explained by supposing that he went to Britain in the year of his consulship. Undoubtedly, too, the impression conveyed by the whole narrative in c. 9 is that all the events there recorded, so gratifying to Agricola, followed hard on each other's heels.[2] But there are some difficulties, and the vast majority of scholars have adopted the view that Agricola went to Britain in 78.

(i) The first question is, Was it possible for Agricola to hold the consulship and arrive [3] in Britain while it was still midsummer?

By summer Romans usually meant the three months from mid-May to mid-August, which corresponds to popular use in the northern hemisphere.[4] In the absence of definition, we should expect Tacitus to use the term in its ordinary sense, and this expectation seems to be confirmed by *Hist.* 5. 23, where the equinox (September 22–23) marks the turn (*flexus*) of autumn, and by *Ann.* 11. 31, 4, where *adultus autumnus* is the month ending not later than Oct. 15.[5] *Media*, or *adulta*, *aestas* would thus run from mid-June to mid-July.

[1] *Deinde* (c. 9, 1) may possibly imply an interval, and so point to 73 as the date of his return from Britain.

[2] Cp., however, below, p. 169, and note 3.

[3] See note on *transgressus*, c. 18, 1.

[4] Summer began with the heliacal rising of the Pleiades, on May 9, and ended with the morning setting of Fidicula, Aug. 8–11. Winter began with the morning setting of the Pleiades, about Nov. 11. So the Julian Calendar, Varro, Columella, Pliny (*N. H.* 18. 222, 309: cf. 271. 289).

[5] The *vindemialis feria* ended on Oct. 15 (*Cod. Theod.* ii. 8, 19), on which day there was a festival of Liber (*CIL.* i, p. 404).

Now, from the second half of the reign of Augustus the consular term had been shortened, as a rule to six months,[1] which was the usual period under Nero (Suet., c. 15). On Vespasian's accession the term was further reduced. Its exact length thenceforward is not certain, either for the ordinary (eponymous) consulships or for the 'suffect', but it looks as if under Vespasian the former were held normally for four months, as in 78,[2] and the latter, more frequently at least than might be thought, for two months.[3] In Agricola's case then a two-months' term must be regarded as quite possible. Moreover, the consulships of emperors and imperial princes were less subject to rule than those of ordinary men. When Vespasian and Titus held office, as they did every year except 73 and 78, one or other sometimes retired on or just before the Ides of January in favour of Domitian or of a distinguished man like Plautius Silvanus; and that both imperial consuls might retire early seems to follow from the fact that in the year 79 (probably) L. Caesennius Paetus and P. Calvisius Ruso were in office on March 1.[4] For Agricola's consulship we may thus assume either March-April or May-June.

The latter term appears to be impossible, for Agricola could not have reached Britain by midsummer. The journey to Richborough would require not less than twenty-five days of continuous travelling;[5] and, as no governor would travel at such express speed, unless there were a very grave emergency, a month must certainly be allowed. It is, indeed, possible that Tacitus uses *aestas* (as in the sequel) of the campaigning season and so includes early autumn

[1] Mommsen, *Staatsr.* ii, p. 85 f. Other terms occur. A three-monthly term is attested in 31, 46 (*Fasti Teanenses*, Egbert in *Amer. School (Rome) Suppl. Papers*, ii, p. 282, as Dessau points out to me) and 101.

[2] Dessau informs me that the attribution of the consulship of Vitulasius Nepos to April is a mistake. The fragment of the *Arval Acts* mentioning him refers probably to the festival of Dea Dia in May: there is nothing which points to April.

[3] Professor Stuart Jones has kindly shown me a revised collection of materials. Room, as he notes, has to be found for six consuls who held office in uncertain years before A. D. 75, and for five to seven who held office by 70.

[4] Dessau, no. 3534, and *J. R. S.* iii, p. 305.

[5] He would no doubt travel by the imperial postal service (*cursus publicus*), the normal speed of which was in all probability not more than 50 Rom. miles a day (cf. Ramsay, *Roads and Travel*, in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, v, p. 387). The distance to Boulogne by the normal route—Milan, Besançon, Reims, and Amiens (*Peut. Table*)—was not less than 1,200 Rom. miles. The crossing to Richborough took a day (Friedländer, ii, 14). Six days more of unbroken travelling would be needed to reach Chester. The route by Marseilles would be about five or six days shorter, but there is no probability that it was then used by the imperial post: ships were not at this time a regular part of the postal system.

in the term, as Thucydides uses θέρος.[1] In this case midsummer would end about July 24, but Agricola could not celebrate his daughter's wedding and reach Britain before August, and so we should have to assume further that the time-definition is not precise. There are too many hypotheses here. The other term, however, March–April, seems to be free from difficulty. We may suppose that Agricola spent some weeks in Rome and then proceeded to his province, arriving perhaps about the end of June.

As regards this point then there need be no obstacle to the year 77. On the other hand, the view that the year in question is 78 is open to the objection that it requires us to interpret *statim* (c. 9, 7) as being rhetorically and loosely used in the sense of 'without an interval of waiting', unless indeed Agricola's consulship fell in the last months of the year; and even so we have to postulate some unrecorded cause of delay in setting out for his province. Such an interpretation is possible, if one bears in mind (what is usually overlooked) that Tacitus is professedly writing, not as an historian, but as a panegyrist,[2] and that a panegyrist would naturally desire to convey the impression of an inevitably rapid advancement of his hero to the climax of his career.[3] An argument of this kind, however, needs support from other considerations.

(ii) A more serious difficulty is the existence in Agricola's army, during his sixth campaign, of a cohort of Usipi, whose adventures are recorded in c. 28 and referred to by Martial, 6. 60, 1–4. This cohort was a regular auxiliary regiment, and such regiments were levied only from populations permanently subject to the Empire.[4] Obviously the cohort was quite recently conscribed, and Mommsen concluded that its conscription was a result of Domitian's Chattan war of A. D. 83, which brought these Usipi within the Empire.[5] This almost universally accepted inference[6] would point to 78 as the date of Agricola's first campaign (for otherwise the cohort must have reached Britain early in 82). The facts about the Usipi (or

[1] In *Ann.* 1. 55, 1 *aestas* is pointedly contrasted with *ver*, but *autumnus* seems to be very rarely used in connexion with military operations: in fact *Hist.* 5. 23 is the only instance quoted by Gerber-Greef, and there Tacitus is speaking of the equinoctial rains.

[2] *Introd.*, Sect. III.

[3] The panegyrist's art is revealed in such phrases as *spe consulatus, cui destinarat* (where Pfitzner and Halm (1846), not without reason, supplied *provincia* as subject and *minus triennium detentus*, and in the words which follow (c. 9, 1 and 6–7).

[4] That the Usipi were definitely annexed is proved also by *per Germanias conscripta* (c. 28, 1) and by Martial's line *quisquis et Ausonium non amat imperium*.

[5] *Prov.* i, p. 150 and note.

[6] Adopted also by Professor Haverfield, though at the same time he inconsistently stated: 'I rather incline to 77' (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1917–18, p. 180 note).

Usipetes[1]) are not clear. Under the earlier Empire the tribe dwelt on the Rhine, apparently between the Yssel and the lower Lippe, being bordered on one side by the Tubantes, who have (as is generally admitted) left their name to the district called Twente in the Dutch province of Overyssel (between the Yssel and the Vechte). Later they are found to be dislodged from the part of their land fronting the Rhine, which was turned by the Romans into a military zone forming a glacis for the protection of Drusus' canal.[2] In A. D. 69 the Usipi appear as allies of the Mattiaci (round Wiesbaden) and the Chatti (in Hessen) in attacking Mainz,[3] and they must then have been settled near their allies. Their position can be more exactly defined by the aid of a passage in the *Germania* (c. 32, A. D. 98), where Tacitus' description, moving from south to north and starting clearly from the Rhine gorge at Bingen, places the Usipi and their old associates the Tencteri on the Rhine next to the Chatti. Plainly, therefore, they were settled in Nassau round the basin of the Lahn; and their name seems still to be borne by the little river Wisper which flows into the Rhine near Lorch, south of the Lahn.[4]

From these facts it has generally been inferred that in the course of the first century the Usipi and the neighbouring Tubantes moved southwards under Roman pressure.[5] Mommsen suggested that the migration was a result of the campaigns of Germanicus,[6] but it would appear that in A. D. 58 the two tribes still dwelt in the region of the Lippe, not far from the Roman military zone, i. e. east or south-east of it, and between it and the Chatti.[7] The migration

[1] Dio. 54. 20. 4; 32. 2: Tac. *Ann.* 1. 51. 4. Cf. note, 5 below.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* 13. 55. The exact localization of the military territory depends on the localization of the canal, which is generally identified with the Yssel. Ritterling, however, would identify it with the Vecht, in which case the military zone would lie north of Utrecht and Arnheim. Cf. Kornemann, *Klio*, ix, p. 438, n. 3.

[3] Tac. *Hist.* 4. 37.

[4] Cp. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, iv, p. 204, n. 2. It is an old suggestion that Ptolemy's Vispi, who can hardly be other than the Usipi, are to be located round the Wisper. The position assigned to them by Ptolemy's text (in the Black Forest) is evidently erroneous.

[5] Jullian (l. c.) draws a distinction between Usipi and Usipetes, and regards the former as a remnant of the latter which remained behind when the main body of the tribe was driven out of its original home in Caesar's time and wandered north with the Tencteri (*B. G.* 4. 4. 1). The Usipetes, he supposes, still dwelt north of the Lippe (iii, p. 46, n. 5; iv, p. 104, n. 6). The distinction is surely inconsistent with *Ann.* 13. 55. 5. McElderry (see below) is inclined to follow him in rejecting the theory of a later migration southwards.

[6] *Prov.* i, p. 123.

[7] *Ann.* 13. 56. 5; Kornemann, *Klio*, ix, p. 438, n. 3; L. Schmidt, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Stämme* (Sieglin's *Quellen u. Forsch.*, Heft 30, 1918) ii, p. 411.

would therefore appear to have been subsequent to A.D. 58.[1] Mommsen's further suggestion that the Usipi 'may have found new settlements to the east of the Mattiaci on the Kinzig or in the district of Fulda' hardly agrees with Tacitus' account in the *Germania*. But these qualifications do not invalidate his general conclusion regarding the *cohors Usiporum*. There is no doubt that the portion of Nassau bordering on the Rhine was within Domitian's *limes*. Tacitus, indeed, speaks as if the whole of the Usipi were outside the Empire, but he speaks in the same way about the Frisii, a section of whom were certainly subject.[2]

It is doubtless possible that the Usipi in Nassau had become *pars imperii* before A.D. 83. Their neighbours on the south of the Taunus, the Mattiaci, had long been under Roman sway, and certainly the Romans did not leave the east bank of the Rhine from the Taunus northwards wholly outside their control. Though there seems to be no evidence of the extension of the military zone south of the point where the Rhine divides and no sign of military occupation there except such bridge-heads as Deutz, opposite Cologne, some control was necessary to secure the safety of navigation on the river and peaceful conditions on the frontier. That control was exercised is shown, for instance, by the considerable operations against the Bructeri in 77–8. But it did not necessarily amount to annexation, and in the area which concerns us here the only point where there appears to be actual evidence of Roman occupation before Domitian is Bendorf, north of Coblenz, which was held as a bridge-head from the early period of the Empire.[3] Neither the fort at Niederberg[4] nor the earlier of the two earth forts at Marienfels[5] has yielded evidence earlier than Domitian's time. For the present, therefore, the possibility of the annexation of the Usipi in Nassau before the reign of Domitian remains conjectural.

An alternative explanation has been put forward by Professor McElderry, who holds that the main body of the Usipi still lived in the north and prefers to refer the levy to this section, supposing them to have been subjugated by Rutilius Gallicus during his campaign against the Bructeri (A.D. 77–8).[6] This view raises difficulties. Neither Tacitus in the *Germania* nor Ptolemy (using sources apparently prior to A.D. 114) says anything of northern

[1] Schmidt, l. c.

[2] Cp. Mommsen, *Prov.* i. p. 126, n. 2, and *CIL.* xiii. 8830 = D. 1461 (later first century), found near Leeuwarden.

[3] Barthel in *Ber. d. röm.-germ. Kommission*, 1910–11, p. 136.

[4] *Obergerm.-Raet. Limes*, no. 2 a; *CIL.* xiii, 10010–1672; *Ber. d. Komm.*, 1906–7, p. 168.

[5] *O.-R. Limes*, no. 5 a. The later earth fort dates from the beginning of Hadrian's reign: Barthel, *op. cit.*, p. 143 ff.

[6] *J. R. S.* x, p. 70 ff.

Usipi. It is true that Tacitus' account is not exhaustive: he is silent, for example, about the Tubantes. But having mentioned the Usipi (in association, too, with their old comrades the Tencteri), it seems hardly credible that he should have failed to record the existence of other Usipi in the north, especially if they were the main portion of the tribe. Nor does the survival of the name Twente prove the position of the Tubantes (and, by implication, of the Usipi) at this time. Like Bohemia (Boihaemum), it need only attest *loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus* (*Ger*. 28); and, although Ptolemy's evidence is too often untrustworthy, it should be noted that he places the tribe to the south of the Chatti. Moreover, it seems hardly probable that Gallicus' campaign resulted in actual annexation of territory beyond the Rhine (the Bructeri were not annexed), and the subsidiary arguments adduced do not appear to lend support to the main thesis.[1]

(iii) Two other points, neither perhaps of primary importance, remain to be noted. (*a*) According to the most probable interpretation[2] of the inscription of Velius Rufus (Dessau, 9200), detachments from all four British legions were sent to Germany to take part in the war against the Bructeri, which was over by April A.D. 78. It is quite likely that they were withdrawn in 77, and, if so, their absence would accord well with the lull in military operations at the time of Agricola's arrival.[3] On the other hand, the lull would be adequately accounted for by the mere fact of an impending change in the command. (*b*) Another inscription (Dessau, 1025; see note on c. 26. 1) shows that a large draft from the Ninth Legion took part in Domitian's war of 83 against the Chatti, and its absence affords an attractive explanation of the weakness of that legion in Agricola's sixth campaign, which would

[1] (*a*) The position of the trans-Rhenane tile-factory is unknown (Kornemann would place it in the military territory formerly occupied by the Usipi, *Klio*, l. c.). (*b*) The Frisiavones were perhaps a Celticized branch of the Frisii settled, not beyond the Rhine, but in Belgium, near the Tungri, Baetasii, &c. (Pliny *N.H.* iv. 106, cp. *CIL*. vii. 1195; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 74 f.) (*c*) The corrupt note appended to the provincial list of Verona yields no clear evidence of the situation of the Usipi in the third century. As it stands, it seems to refer to the Mainz region, as Mommsen thought (*Prov*. i, p. 151); but as the original from which it was taken can only have named *Belgica*, not *Belgica prima* (the district of Trèves and Toul contiguous to Upper Germany), it may have referred to all Roman territory and spheres of influence beyond the Rhine.

[2] That of v. Domaszewski, *Philol*. 66 (1907), p. 165 ff. Ritterling (*Oesterr. Jahresh.* vii, *Beiblatt*, 23 ff.) would connect the drafts with the war of 83, but his restorations of the tile inscrr. of Mirebeau, on which his argument is chiefly based, have apparently proved untenable (*Philol.*, l. c., p. 166, n. 26), and in other respects his conclusions are open to objection.

[3] McElderry, p. 77.

accordingly appear to have taken place in 83, not in 82. It has been argued [1] that the draft may have been withdrawn during the summer of 82 (which is most improbable), or that it may have been withdrawn, not expressly for the Chattan war, but somewhat earlier to fill a gap caused by a shifting of troops on the German and Pannonian frontiers,[2] which cannot be said to be suggested by the phrasing of the inscription. The legion's weakness may, however, have been due to some other cause. Possibly nothing more is implied than a numerical inferiority resulting from an unequal distribution of the legionary forces between the three columns into which Agricola divided his army.

On the whole, while the evidence is not clear enough (especially in regard to the *cohors Usiporum*) to permit of a confident conclusion, the difficulties are perhaps not sufficiently serious to justify the rejection of the date suggested by the narrative of Tacitus, A. D. 77.

II. MINERALS IN EARLY ROMAN BRITAIN

Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae (c. 12).

The minerals of Britain were naturally of less note in Roman days than they have been since the discovery of steam power more than a century ago. Still they played a part in the Roman world, if a smaller part than the minerals of Spain and of Dacia. We need not press the words of Tacitus, *pretium victoriae*, so far as to think that Claudius in A. D. 43 invaded Britain in order to win these minerals; but, after the conquest, they were not neglected.[3]

(1) *Gold.*

Of gold, indeed, there was in Britain little in Roman days, nor is there absolute proof that the Romans mined for gold in our island. It is notorious, however, that prehistoric Ireland was very rich in gold. That metal is still found in South Ireland among the

[1] McElderry, p. 74.

[2] Upper-German *auxilia* were serving in Moesia in 82: Dessau, 1995. The Fifteenth Legion (*Apollinaris*) seems to have been sent from Pannonia to Mauretania *ca.* A. D. 81: Dess. 8969 (cp. *CIL.* xiv. 2933, with Hirschfeld's note in *Verw.-Beamten*, p. 391, and 9200; Domaszewski, l. c., p. 168).

[3] Solinus in his third-century compilation, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, speaks of *metallorum larga variaque copia*, *quibus Brittaniae solum pollet venis locupletibus* (22. 11, ed. Mommsen, 1895, p. 102, 18).

Wicklow hills: Britain then was poorer than Ireland.[1] But faint traces of early British gold workings are known; in particular, as we might expect, vestiges occur in Wales. At Mold, in Flintshire, was found in 1730 a celebrated gold ornament (fig. 22), belonging in date to the Bronze age, formerly known as the 'Mold Corslet', but now taken to be a 'peytrel' or 'brunt for a pony'.[2] It seems to indicate that gold was then obtainable in north-west Wales.

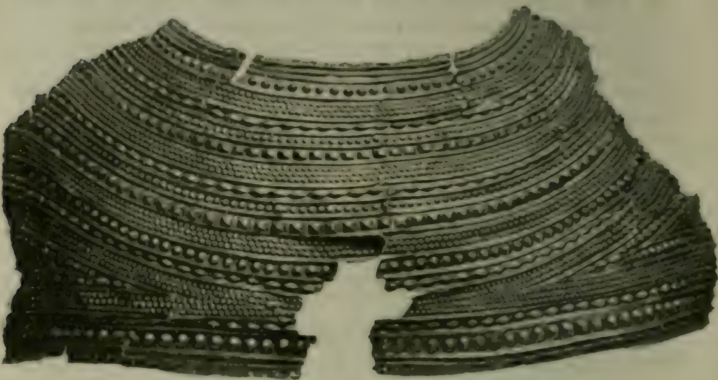


FIG. 22. Gold ornament of the Bronze Age from Mold in Flintshire

In south-west Wales supposed traces of actual Roman gold-mining have been found in the secluded valley of the Cothi—among the hills dividing the Tivy from the Towy—near the hamlet of Doiaucothy, twenty-two miles north-east of Carmarthen, and ten miles north-west of Llandovery, on the line of a Roman road (Sarn Helen) which connected Carnarvon and Carmarthen. Near Dolaucothy is auriferous rock, and clear traces survive of early workings—adits and galleries pierced in the hillsides through solid rock, and also a series of surface cuttings suggestive of a rock-hewn

[1] See Sir A. J. Evans, *Archaeologia*, lv. 397 foll. Possibly it was the Irish gold which attracted so many early European invaders into the British Isles. The gold deposits in North Scotland counted for less, it seems, in early days.

[2] Now in the British Museum. It is three and a half feet long: see the *Museum Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age* (London, 1904, p. 140. Plate X). 'It is obvious', remarks the editor, Sir C. H. Read, 'that a warrior would not decorate his horse with the precious metal till he had satisfied his own personal needs.' The British Museum has many gold ornaments which prove the abundance of gold in Ireland in the Bronze Age. The Dublin Museum has a most remarkable collection of such things.

aqueduct, by which water was brought for several miles along the south side of the Cothi valley to fill an ancient reservoir and provide a head of water to wash grains of gold from crushed rock. Moreover, in the bottom of this valley, close by the Cothi, remains are still visible of a Roman 'bath-house' such as was usually set up outside a *castellum*. Whether a fort actually stood here can only be determined by excavation; but Roman tiles, potsherds, and signs of civilized Roman occupation have been found. This is the only site for ten miles round which shows traces of Roman settled occupation, and the presence of these remains, near ancient gold workings, supplies a strong probability that the workings themselves are of Roman origin. Some, however, hold that certain technical features in the adits and passages of the workings indicate not Roman but later activity. In the report of the Commission of Ancient Historical Monuments in Wales which deals with Carmarthenshire (London, 1917), Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, who formerly accepted the Roman theory, now ascribes the workings to a Norman date (pp. 25–32). He interprets a large heap of débris as belonging to a Norman mound-castle, and assigns the mine-works to that period. No evidence, however, has yet come to light of mediaeval activity on the site, though Norman gold-working, if it really produced gold, would probably have been recorded in mediaeval documents. The question must be left unanswered till more evidence emerges. To the present writer it seems probable, notwithstanding the Commission's Report, that the Dolaucothy workings may be Roman in origin.

No other traces of Roman gold-mining have been noted or even conjectured in our island, not even in Merioneth (north-west Wales), where a little gold has been extracted in more or less recent times.[1]

(2) *Silver and Lead.*

(*a*) *Lead.*

Tacitus includes silver among the chief minerals of Roman Britain, but the only silver actually found by the Romans in the island seems to be such as occurs in combination with ores of lead. Roman metallurgy was incapable of extracting silver in the absence of lead.[2] But of lead Roman Britain had abundance.

(i) *Somerset lead.* In the south-west, on the limestone plateau of Mendip in Somerset[3], lead is found in plenty, and in accessible deposits. This Mendip lead was known to the Britons before the

[1] Gold-mining is, naturally, not evidenced by the existence of workers in gold, one of whom has left an inscription at Malton in East Yorkshire, *CIL*. vii. 265.

[2] W. Gowland, *Archaeologia*, vol. lvii, p. 360.

[3] Not in Derbyshire, where German writers, following Emil Hübner, are apt to place the Mendips.

Roman age, as finds in the Glastonbury Lake-village declare. It was worked by the Romans, and has since been sought by generations of mediaeval miners; even now it is an object of occasional adventure. Of the Roman mining numerous traces survive, especially heaps of *scoriae*, Roman bricks, tiles, and mortar, many coins, and one or two inscriptions of the Imperial period. The earliest inscription[1]—on a 'pig' of Roman lead—is dated to A.D. 49; others belong to the reign of Vespasian, others to portions of the second and third centuries. Roman mining on Mendip clearly began within six years after the Claudian invasion (A.D. 43), and lasted perhaps for two centuries.[2]

(ii) *Shropshire lead.* The Romans also mined lead in south-west Shropshire on and across the present Welsh border. Old workings can be traced from a point about ten miles south-west of Shrewsbury for some distance south-westwards, where hills run out from the Radnorshire upland. The richest and most productive parts of this lead-field seem to lie round the villages of Shelve and Minsterley. The surviving workings are mainly open cuttings, but there are also underground galleries and fairly deep shafts. It is not easy to prove that these galleries and shafts are Roman, but full proof of Roman activity in this region is supplied by various 'pigs' of lead which have been found here. These are inscribed IMP. HADRIANI AVG., and the inscriptions show that mining went on in Hadrian's reign; it is not known why no inscriptions occur of earlier or of later date. They also imply that the metal was regarded as an imperial monopoly, as, indeed, there is other reason to believe. The coins found among these workings belong largely to the reign of Pius.[3]

(iii) *Flintshire.* The north-east corner of Wales contains much lead and, indeed, lead comparatively rich in silver, especially in Halkin mountain, and near the town of Flint. Here was a district called by mediaeval men Tegeingl, a name which perhaps preserves a trace of the old tribal name, Decangi or Ceangi, known from Tacitus and otherwise as the name of a British tribe living in this quarter.[4] Many traces have been noted here of Roman mining, and 'pigs' of lead have been found, some here (or near), and some elsewhere, which bear inscriptions showing that they come from the district of the Ceangi (or whatever the true spelling of the name was), and that Roman miners were active here in A.D. 74, and later.[5] This lead-field, scarcely a dozen miles west of Chester, on

[1] It was found before 1544 at Wookey, near the lead mines (*CIL.* vii. 1201).

[2] See *Vict. County Hist., Somerset*, i. pp. 334–44; the Mendip lead-mines and their Roman remains are there described in detail.

[3] See my account, *Vict. County Hist., Shropshire*, i. 263 ff.

[4] *Annals*, 12. 32. The exact form of the Roman name is disputable; it may have been 'Deceangli' (*Eph. Epigr.* ix, pp. 642–3).

[5] *CIL.* vii. 1204 ff.

the south shore of the Dee estuary, was clearly seized by the Romans soon after they reached Chester (about A.D. 50). Indeed, its existence may help to account for the early date at which they pushed forward to this neighbourhood, and the Roman mining at Halkin may have begun some years before A.D. 74.

(iv) *Derbyshire.* The limestone hills of Derbyshire provided perhaps the chief supply of lead in Roman Britain. Roman lead-mining in Derbyshire has left many traces, notably between Wirksworth and Castleton, and around Matlock, near to which latter town five 'pigs' of Roman lead have been dug up. These 'pigs' seem to have been found near where they were melted; one, in fact, was found in its mould, and we may suppose generally that the ore was smelted where it was unearthed. The inscriptions on these 'pigs' resemble those found in Shropshire; many of them bear an emperor's (and indeed, Hadrian's) name. Others bear the names of private individuals who had presumably leased mining rights from the emperor through his *procurator*, or had perhaps prospected on their own account.[1] Others again bear the name LVTVDARES (short for *Lutudarensis*) or, more often, its abbreviation LV or LVT. Apparently a place in the lead-field, or the lead-field itself, was called in Roman times Lutudaron.[2]

(v) *Yorkshire.* Not a little workable lead ore occurs, and was worked by the Romans, in Yorkshire. Two 'pigs' of lead were found in 1734 on Heyshaw Moor, eight miles from Ripley; they bear the name of Domitian and the date A.D. 80[3]; they may have been smelted for the use of Agricola's army.

(vi) *Northumberland.* The lead deposits of south Northumberland were also worked by the Romans. *Scoriae* occur in considerable quantity, and Roman remains are said to have been found in old lead mines near Alston, where lead has also been worked in modern times; but no precise details seem to have been recorded, and the accounts given by various writers are all vague.[4] It is also possible that certain lead deposits just north of the Tyne at Settling-stones were used by the Romans; a Roman road passes directly over them.[5]

[1] Why some of the 'pigs' bear an emperor's name and some the names of private persons is not clear. Possibly the system was changed at some unknown date, and the inscriptions of private persons belong to another, and a later, age than those with an emperor's name.

[2] These mines are described in detail, *Vict. County Hist.*, *Derbyshire*, i. 227–33. The name Lutudaron occurs in the Ravenna list (429. 2), as somewhere between Chester and Derby.

[3] *CIL.* vii. 1207; in the Corpus the date is given as A.D. 81, but this is one of many errors in that volume.

[4] Bruce, *Roman Wall* (1867), p. 433; *Archaeologia Aeliana* (1st series), iv. 36.

[5] See Gowland, *Archaeologia*, lvii (1901), pp. 359–422 (with a map by the present writer). This article, written with much technical knowledge

Lead was abundantly used in the Roman empire, and it has been suggested that the occupation of Britain considerably increased the lavish use of the metal for which Rome became noted. Other sources which yielded the Romans lead were Sardinia, Spain (especially round Cartagena, where many traces of smelting furnaces have been found), and a few places in France.

(b) Silver.

The silver won in Roman Britain was entirely obtained from the above-mentioned lead-mines and their ores. Silver is, indeed, found in a native state, but in that state has only a limited distribution, being usually embedded in mineral veins in mountain regions. As stated above, the Romans did not know how to extract it unless lead was present. The Romans had some knowledge of pure silver ores, but, to extract the silver, they had to mix the ores with lead before smelting. Of Roman silver-mining in this country we have therefore only indirect traces; occasional pieces of Roman silver have been found, for instance, a small 'finger' of silver, now in the museum at Whitby; but these are such as might have been produced by any skilful metal-worker of the time.[1]

British silver certainly came wholly, or almost wholly, from the lead ore. The abbreviated phrase EX ARG which often occurs on pigs of British lead may be best explained as EX ARG(entariis), implying that the lead had been through silver-works for desilverization.[2] Analyses do not, however, indicate that the pigs marked EX ARG actually contain less silver than those not so marked.[3] The Romans seem to have been able to extract the silver quite as thoroughly as modern refiners. While, therefore, it is impossible to calculate the amount of silver which the Romans drew from Britain or Spain or any other mineral source, the British yield must have been sufficient to justify the remark of Tacitus, that silver was important among the minerals of the island.

(3) *Copper.*

According to Caesar, the copper (*aes*) used in Britain was imported, *aere utuntur importato* (*Bell. Gall.* 5. 12). This has been taken to mean that Caesar referred to articles of foreign manufacture, such as a bronze flagon from north Italy found in a Celtic cemetery

of metallurgy, contains a full account of the methods, &c., of working lead used by the Romans in Britain, and illustrations of the principal 'pigs' of lead.

[1] Cp. the inscription left by a worker in gold at Malton in Yorkshire, above, p. 175 n. 1.

[2] Remains of a Roman silver refinery, probably of the fourth century, were found in 1894 at Silchester: Gowland, *Archaeologia*, lvii 113-24.

[3] The proportion of silver found in Romano-British lead per ton varies from 1 to $8\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Troy.

at Aylesford.[1] This, however, would imply that Caesar, or some one of his staff, was more of an archaeologist than is probable; and, as the authenticity of the passage in Caesar is doubtful (see p. xlii, n. 3), the statement may be a simple error. That the Romans mined copper in Anglesey and elsewhere in north-west Wales is sufficiently proved by cakes of Roman copper found in those regions.[2]

(4) *Tin.*

The fame of British tin suggests that it was the most important mineral in the island in ancient days. The facts do not support this view. Before the days of the Empire, British tin was certainly worked and the product was conveyed oversea to a western Gaulish port, and thence, probably by the pass of Carcassonne, to the Mediterranean.[3] Under the Empire, Britain no longer appears as an important source of tin, and it has been suggested that at some period other tin districts eclipsed it. Pliny, certainly, writing (*c.* A.D. 75) about tin (*plumbum album*), refers to north Spain as the principal source of the metal in his day.[4] The Roman remains found in Cornwall point in this direction. Innumerable traces of ancient tin-mining exist in Cornwall, but little is definitely of Roman date. Coin finds suggest that Roman traders had pushed as far west as Bodmin (mid-Cornwall), and perhaps even to Penwith, in Nero's reign, that is, long before the *Agricola* was written. But of mining activity, then or later, there are few distinct traces. Only one block of Cornish tin has been discovered which bears a Roman stamp. This was found by the present writer lying *perdu* in a Cornish museum, and is stamped with the much-worn head of a fourth-century emperor. The tin-mining industry cannot have been active where it has left so few traces. Even the Roman coins found in Cornwall, though several of them belong to the reign of Nero, are mostly of a latish date.[5]

[1] Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 252, note 1.

[2] *CIL.* vii. 1199-1200 and *Ephem.* ix. 1258-61. The evidence does not, however, point to very extensive workings of copper, although the remains of the Bronze Age suggest that bronze was common in Britain, and, as tin occurs in Cornwall, the bronze was probably made there.

[3] [Diodorus, 5. 22. 2; 38. 5. Professor Haverfield supposed the port of landing to be Bordeaux, but it may rather have been Corbilo at the mouth of the Loire, which is connected by Polybius with Massilia and Narbo and with Britain, and is said by Strabo to have been formerly an 'emporium' (*Geog.* 4. 2, 1; cp. 4. 5, 2).]

[4] *N. H.* 34. 16, 156.

[5] See *Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1262 for the stamped pig of tin, which was found near old tin-works by the Barton of Carnunton; and *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* xviii. 118. I may refer also to my article in the *Mélanges Boissier*, p. 249 (Paris, 1903).

We may infer that, while the Romans were not indifferent to Cornish tin, the deposits in north-west Spain eclipsed the more distant ores. Still these were worked, even in the later Empire. It cannot be an accident that most of the Romano-British vessels and objects of tin and pewter are connected with the period A. D. 205–400.[1]

The omission then of Tacitus to mention tin seems intelligible. It had been mentioned by Caesar (*B. G.* 5. 12), who declares that it was found *in mediterraneis regionibus*. This strange-sounding statement may be explained (otherwise than as an error in an interpolated chapter) as due to the fact that the tin was sometimes brought from Cornwall to Kent by land.[2]

(5) *Iron.*

It is well known that Britain is rich in iron ores. Indeed, at the present day, rather more than half the counties of England produce iron in an appreciable amount. The British ores were known and worked in Roman times, though some were too deep underground to be accessible, and some contained too much phosphorus to be worked by ancient methods. But the province could hardly claim a place among the great iron districts of the Empire, such as were portions of Italy, Spain, Macedonia, Noricum, and Gaul. Certainly the British iron-mining areas did not seem to the Romans to require the administrative machinery which existed, for instance, in Gaul and Noricum; no *conductores* or *procuratores ferrariarum* (Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 1467, &c.) are recorded on Romano-British inscriptions, and while the silence of Tacitus may be due to his thinking gold and silver to be nobler metals than iron or lead, his omission of iron is still significant. Caesar (*B. G.* 5. 12) mentions iron as occurring *in maritimis regionibus* (see below), but he adds that it was not plentiful, *sed eius exigua est copia*. The working of this iron seems to be older than the Romans. The Glastonbury Lake-village in Somerset, which dates from before the Roman Conquest, contains traces of furnaces for smelting iron, *scoriae*, and unfinished iron articles,[3] and the odd currency of iron bars, which Caesar noted in the island,[4] and which has been identified with certain iron objects resembling unfinished sword blades found in the south and west of

[1] See my article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. 20 (1900), pp. 210 ff.

[2] (A different explanation is suggested by Rice Holmes, that the statement was a hasty conclusion from the report of Publius Crassus (Strabo 3. 5. 11), who apparently landed on the Cornish coast, where the tin was delivered to the merchants, and was doubtless informed that the tin was actually won in the interior (*Anc. Brit.*, p. 497).)

[3] Gray, *Glastonbury Lake Village*, ii. p. 303.

[4] *B. G.* 5. 12: *utuntur* (*aut aere*) *aut nummo aureo aut taleis* (v. l. *anulis*) *ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.*

England,[1] seems also to belong to the same pre-Roman age. We may then infer that iron was smelted in Britain long before the Christian era; possibly as early as about 400 B. C.[2]

Iron workings of Roman date can be traced in several districts, especially where ironstone is found near a copious supply of wood fuel. (i) In the Weald of East Sussex, north and north-west of St. Leonards, traces of Roman iron-working, iron slag, Roman coins, and the like abound.[3] This district is near enough to the Channel to explain Caesar's phrase *in maritimis*, and when he (or his interpolator) calls the quantity small, it would seem that he wrote before the Wealden ironworks were developed. It may be noted that in earlier England the Sussex iron trade was unimportant, though Kingsley explained the Norman conquest by the fact that the victory of Senlac gave William I control of the English supplies of iron ore, and the Saxons had (as he thought) no other source from which to win iron. Doomsday does not mention it. Later, in the fifteenth century, it began to flourish, and after reaching its greatest extension in the seventeenth century, the manufacture died out early in the nineteenth century.[4] (ii) In the Forest of Dean, on the north bank of the Severn in West Gloucestershire, extensive traces of Roman iron-workings still survive, for instance round the spot known as Speech-House. The *scoriae* extend as far north as southern Herefordshire, and indicate an activity which cannot be precisely dated, but which must have been long-lived and considerable.

Accessible ironstone exists in other parts of Britain,[5] but there is no evidence that Romans worked it to any great extent. Chance smelting there must always have been in many places. Small traces were found, for instance, in 1917 in exploring the Roman fort of Templeborough, near Sheffield; but these do not prove any considerable industrial activity or justify the use of such phrases as 'iron-works'.

No doubt the abundance of iron in Spain, parts of Italy and Gaul, and in Noricum (which last gave the conventional epithet 'Norican'

[1] *Class. Rev.* xix (1905), p. 207.

[2] Rice Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 232 ff., p. 250.

[3] Near such villages as Maresfield, Chiddingly, Chitcombe, Lamberhurst, Ashburnham, Balcombe, Eastbourne, Ifield, Penhurst, Rotherfield, &c.

[4] See *Sussex Archaeol. Collections*, ii (1849), pp. 169–220. No proper list has been made of the coins found freely in this mining area: they seem to range over most parts of the Roman occupation.

[5] In Northamptonshire and also in Northumberland, in which workings can be traced. How far the rich deposits in the Cleveland hills of N.E. Yorkshire were worked by the Romans is not clear, nor is there clear evidence that the haematite iron of West Cumberland and Lancs. was worked in Roman days, though it contains so little phosphorus that it would have offered few obstacles to ancient mining methods (*Cumb. and West. Soc. Trans.* v (1881), p. 5 ff.).

to a sword in Horace)[1] would make the distant British supplies seem little worth to a Roman.

(6) *Coal.*

For completeness, one may add here a mineral which naturally counted for less in the Roman world than it does in modern days—coal. The Romans mainly warmed their chambers with wood-furnaces, or with charcoal burnt in braziers; but they were aware of the use of coal, although, as Italy possesses little of this mineral and as the deeper seams were in any case beyond their reach, they used it little. Open fireplaces occur not seldom in Romano-British country-houses: coal can occasionally be traced as having been used; in one case it even attains the dignity of a literary mention. Gaius Julius Solinus, compiling in the third century his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, notes the hot waters of Bath, and adds that in the Temple of Minerva there *perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit, vertit in globos saxeos.*[2] A little west of Bath the Somersetshire coal crops out at the surface, and we may assume that the keepers of the Baths used it. Coal, however, never became a commercial asset in any part of the ancient world, and we should not expect Tacitus to refer to it.

In selecting gold and silver for mention, then, Tacitus seems to have picked out not only the two noblest metals, but also the two which, if silver be taken to cover lead, must have formed in Roman days the most significant products of the island. [F. H.]

III. THE PROVISIONING OF ROMAN FORTS[3]

Adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis (castella) firmabantur (c. 22).

Annuis copiis, as all scholars seem to agree, means 'supplies to last for a year'. It may be worth while to ask what these supplies were and how they were stored.

The Roman army which conquered the world and kept it in subjection was, during the Republic and the earlier empire, mainly a vegetarian army. It ate meat, but not much meat. This was perhaps rather due to the Italian climate than to the vegetarian doctrines of the south-Italian Pythagoras, although those had some

[1] *Odes* I. 16. 9: *quas neque Noricus deterret ensis.*

[2] Ed. Mommsen, p. 102. 8; see *Vict. County Hist., Somerset*, i, p. 220 f.

[3] [This article was contributed in a somewhat different form to the *Transactions* of the Cumb. and West. Soc., and appeared after the author's death in vol. xx (1920), with an appendix by Mr. R. G. Collingwood.]

vogue in Roman educated circles during the late Republic and earlier Empire.[1]

Caesar, when alluding to his soldiers' food in the Gallic War (B. C. 58–50), speaks regularly of *frumentum*. Once or twice he notes that corn ran short and that meat was used instead, but he calls meat in effect a famine diet,[2] and Tacitus, writing of Corbulo's Armenian campaigns in A. D. 60, almost copies Caesar's language.[3] Later, however, meat-eating seems to have increased; in the fourth century, as Seeck notes[4], it was dear meat, not dear bread, which caused certain food-riots in Rome. It is sometimes said that the taste for meat spread in the Roman army owing to the fact that in the later Empire northern barbarians began to serve in larger numbers and introduced northern ways.[5] But even in the first century the army was largely non-Italian.

Meat certainly was not absolutely unfamiliar to the Roman soldier in the earliest Empire, and details which probably imply its use occur fairly often. For example, (*a*) the legions, and also the auxiliary cohorts and *alae* had, attached to their forts or fortresses, lands called *prata* or *territoria*, on which certain *pequarii* were employed. Probably these lands were, at least to some extent, grazing-grounds for the regimental cattle, which the *pequarii* herded,—though the terms have been otherwise explained.[6] (*b*) Again, certain *venatores*, who are mentioned on a few inscriptions (e. g. *CIL.* vii. 830, from Birdoswald), may be connected with the provision of fresh meat, rather than with fights in regimental amphitheatres, and certain *vivaria* were perhaps paddocks or closes, in which a few animals could be kept handy, to be killed as wanted for food.[7]

[1] Jacob Bernays, *Theophrastus' Schrift über Frömmigkeit* (Berlin, 1886), p. 4; Cicero, *in Vatinium*, 14; Seneca, *Epist.* 108. 22, &c.

[2] *Summa difficultate rei frumentariae . . . usque eo ut complures dies frumento milites caruerint, et pecore ex longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarent* (*B. G.* 7. 17. 3). In 7. 56, 5 *pecoris copia* is utilized in a shortage of corn.

[3] *Ann.* 14. 24. 1 *carne pecudum propulsare famen adacti.*

[4] *Untergang der antiken Welt*, i, p. 422, 599

[5] A. v. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung des röm. Heeres*, p. 46: 'die altrömische Soldatenkost, das frumentum, wird verdrängt durch die Fleischkost der Barbaren'. He calls the meat-diet an innovation of the third century.

[6] For *prata* see Mommsen's note to a Spanish inscr. of A. D. 40 or earlier (*CIL.* ii. 2916; Dessau, 2454); for *pequarii* see Dessau, 2431, 2438; *CIL.* viii, index, p. 1080 (exx. from Roman Africa), and xiii. 8287. Domaszewski explains the *prata* as the glacis to a fortress or fort which, for military reasons, was kept clear of trees and buildings; he takes *pequarii* to be veterinary officers. For these, however, *veterinarius* would be a better term, or *medicus veterinarius* (Dessau 9071) or *medicus pequarius* (*CIL.* xiii. 7965). In any case, the use of such terms clearly implies that meat was in use.

[7] The Praetorian guards in Rome had in the third century a *vivarium*

(*e*) The troops had, too, their *lanii* or butchers, whom the Digest mentions along with the *venatores* (50. 6, 7). On the whole, the Imperial army clearly had arrangements for supplies of fresh meat, and must be supposed to have consumed it to some extent.

It would not, of course, be true to say that the Roman army was ever wholly vegetarian or wholly meat-eating. Even in the fourth century when, according to the general view, meat was the chief article of military food, a Roman historian records that, about A.D. 360, Britain regularly supplied the garrisons on the Rhine with corn to stock their *horrea*.[1] This we might expect. A purely meat diet, as some English troops realized in the Zulu War of 1879, is physiologically bad.[2]

Archaeological evidence, too, shows that the *castella* could hardly have accommodated enough cattle to form the chief food-stuff of a garrison during any prolonged siege. The *castella* in Roman Britain [3] were crowded with buildings, of which we know the general disposition, and these buildings show no trace of byres, nor space for grazing or for a paddock large enough for prolonged use by many head of cattle. The plans of forts such as Housesteads or Gellygaer which we know fairly completely, and which seem typical of our Romano-British forts, contain no space suitable to either stalled cattle or to the grazing of them (fig. 12, p. 85). This is equally true of certain legionary fortresses of which we chance to know the plans, whole or nearly whole—such as Novaesium, Carnuntum, and Lambaesis. Their interiors, like those of the *castella*, are crowded with barracks, &c., and the uses of these permanent buildings can be fixed sufficiently well to show that they were not cattle-byres. It is true that in the Peninsular War the French had in their Spanish fortresses herds which, during a siege, were grazed outside the ramparts and were killed as wanted. In the first siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, a high French officer, while inspecting the grazing herds, was carried off by a besieging patrol. The Romans, however, can hardly have followed any such system. The fortresses of 100 years ago had round them a belt of land which could be kept fairly clear of enemies by the garrison artillery. The Roman forts and fortresses had no artillery and no such protected space, and beasts grazing outside the ramparts would have been stolen in foggy weather and at night by British cattle-thieves. Inside the ramparts, as has been said, grazing space is wholly wanting. Even the so-called 'annexes'

(*C.I.L.* vi. 130). We may think that, on suitable days, beasts were driven in from the country, stored here, and rested till wanted. In hot climates such stores for live cattle are indispensable. Not many beasts would be kept in one, and it would be easy to find room for the paddock even inside a town or fortress, provided that it served only limited needs.

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, 18. 2. 3.

[2] Furneaux on *Ann.* 14. 24. 1.

[3] Those on the German *limes* differ somewhat. See p. 187.

(cp. Fig. 12, p. 85) are too small to supply it. But such grazing space is essential.

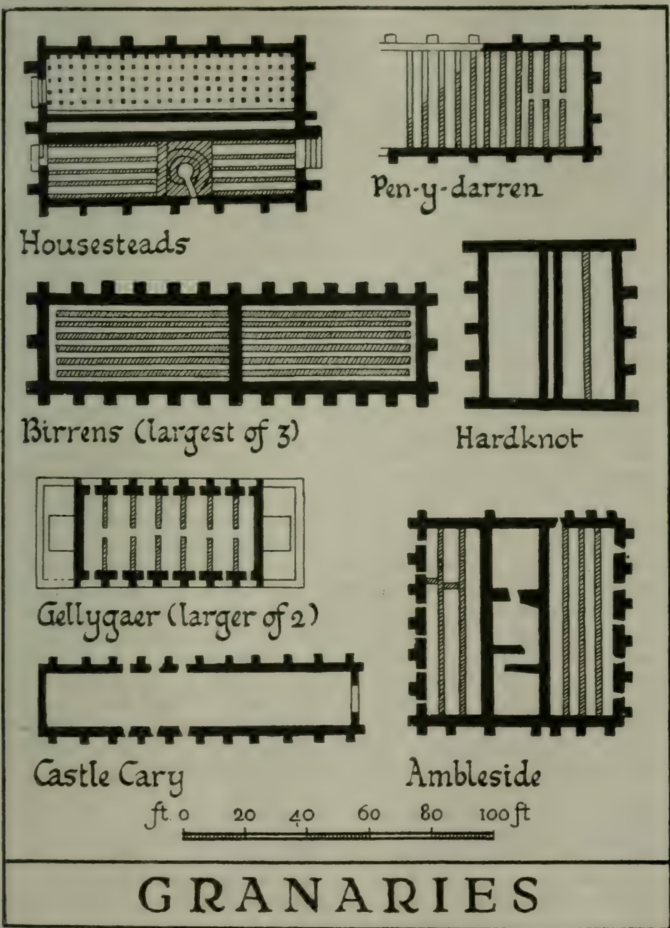


Fig. 23.

It seems to follow that the chief food of Roman garrisons during a siege was not meat. This conclusion agrees with the further fact

that practically every fort in Roman Britain which has been at all fully excavated contains remains of one or two or even three examples of buildings of a special type (Fig. 23, p. 185), which antiquaries unanimously call *horrea*, granaries. They are suited to the storage of corn: inscriptions found in or near some of them specifically mention *horrea*, while occasional deposits of blackened corn detected in them point the same way. Noteworthy, too, are bones of rats, which crept in through the ventilating apertures to get the grain, and of dogs which followed to get the rats. Among the buildings of our Romano-British *castella*, these *horrea* form a definite class having a characteristic plan. They may be described as oblong halls or barns, long and narrow, with unusually thick walls, strengthened further by external buttresses; inside, the floors, sometimes of stout stone flags and sometimes of wooden planks fastened by iron nails, were raised two or three feet above the adjacent ground level. Beneath the floor was a shallow basement, not unlike a hypocaust basement, but wholly devoid of furnace or other means of heating, and elaborately ventilated by slender apertures in the outer walls, which admitted through draughts and obviated all risk of damp or dry-rot. *Pilae* of brick or low 'sleeper-walls' of stone supported these floors, which, like all parts of the structure, were plainly meant to bear heavy weights. Above the floors, the buildings were large open halls or barns, in which presumably the grain was stored, probably in wooden partitions. Often two such halls stood side by side, close together, a device which ensured ample space without requiring unduly wide spans of roof; sometimes a row of columns down the middle of the hall helped to support the roof. The original heights of walls and roofs are naturally unknown, but an abundance of débris often suggests that the walls were high, while heaps of fallen tiles testify to solid tiled roofs unlikely to admit the wet or to catch fire from the fire-darts ('Flammenwerfer') of the besiegers. The dimensions of these structures in Britain show some uniformity. The widths vary mostly between 20 and 25 feet.[1] The lengths differ more widely: a few halls seem to have been over 100 feet long; others are barely half; thus the floor-spaces (the chief matter in a storehouse) differ greatly. The following table of selected figures[2] indicates the range of the dimensions.

Rough Castle, 115 sq. yds.	Chesters, 213 sq. yds.
Hardknot, 157 sq. yds.	Caersws, 253 sq. yds.
Penydaren (Wales), over 180 sq. yds.	Gellygaer, 263 sq. yds.
	Housesteads, 266 sq. yds.
Barhill, 202 sq. yds.	Borrans (Windermere), 273 sq. yds.

[1] A wider span might have been troublesome to roof.

[2] Several writers give tables of the dimensions of these buildings, but they rarely distinguish between internal width and external width or length, and no one appears to have tabulated the floor spaces.

Birrens, 532 sq. yds.	Newstead, 711 sq. yds.
High Rochester, 430 sq. yds.	Corbridge, 470 sq. yds.[1]

In Germany[2] such buildings seem to be less common than in the British *castella*. This may be merely one of the many differences in detail between one Roman province and another. Or it may be that the recent explorations of Roman forts on the German *limes*, begun about twenty-five years ago, did not always touch the whole interior area of all the forts. Attention was directed rather to the important *praetoria*. However, it is clear that the German *horrea*, whether fewer or not than the British examples, are on the whole less elaborately constructed, e. g. they not seldom lack the external buttresses and some other characteristic details. [F. H.]

[1] [The figures have been worked out by Mr. Collingwood. From a careful reckoning of the storage capacity of the granaries and of the probable consumption of the garrison, he concludes that the average fort was designed to accommodate a two-years' ration from the time of any given harvest. That is to say, there was always a year's reserve supply; cp. note on c. 22, 2.]

[2] For a good account of the German *horrea*, see E. Ritterling's *Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus*, Wiesbaden, 1913, p. 35 ff.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

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